Two Civil War veterans, one Southern, one Northern, shook hands on the 50th anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg, fought in 1863.

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LIFE EXPLORES

THE CIVIL WAR

On the Front Lines

FROM FORT SUMTER TO APPOMATTOX

LIFE EXPLORES

THE CIVIL WAR

ON THE FRONT LINES

FROM FORT SUMTER TO APPOMATTOX

The 2nd Rhode Island Infantry on parade grounds near Washington, D.C., early in the Civil War.

PRESIDENT ABRAHAM LINCOLN and General George B. McClellan, photographed by Mathew Brady on Oct. 3, 1862, following the Battle of Antietam, in Maryland.

CONTENTS

Section 1
A GROWING FISSURE 4

America in 1860: A Nation on the Move 6
Two Nations in One: North vs. South 8
Slavery Comes to America 10
The Union Is Dissolved 14
First Fire on Fort Sumter 16
The Diary of Mary Chesnut 20
Organizing the Troops 22
The War Sparks a Boom in the North 24
The Confederate Economy Crashes Quickly 26

Section 2
BROTHER AGAINST BROTHER 30

Soldiers North and South Rush to Arms 32
Sworn into Service 34
"They Met Death Coolly, Bravely" 36
"No Two Keep the Same Step" 40
Handling Military Discipline 42
Disease: The War's Most Lethal Enemy 44
Technology Reshapes the Battlefield 46
"There Is No End to These Horrors" 48
The Reality of the Battlefield 52
Turning to God 54
Capture Is As Deadly As Combat 56
Civil War Photography 58
"A Fearful Battle Began to Rage" 64
Sinking Morale 66
In the "Mule Shoe" at Spotsylvania 68

Section 3
A NATION TRANSFORMED 70

Heartbreak and Sagging Morale in a Land of Plenty 72
Women at War: Spies, Scouts, Soldiers, and Heroic Homemakers 74
Raids Prompt Fear for Frontier Civilians 78
The Children of the Battlefield 80
A Wave of Looting, Burning, and Retaliation 82
Hell on Earth 84
The 13th Amendment Ends Slavery 86
Surrender at Appomattox 88
A Just and Lasting Peace 90
Healing the Divide 96

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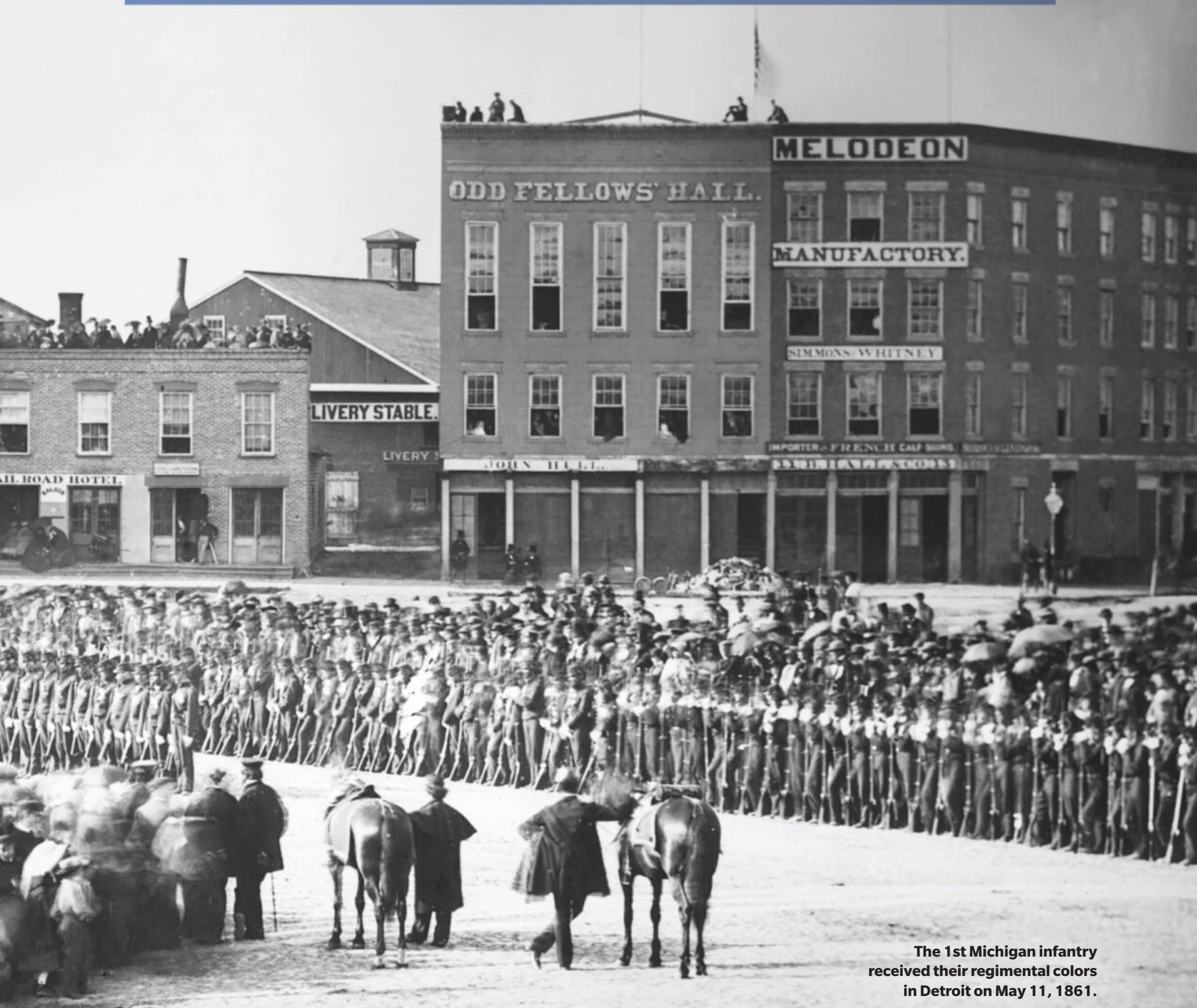
Section 1

A GROWING FISSURE

"This country will be drenched in blood…"

—WILLIAM T. SHERMAN, CIRCA 1860



The 1st Michigan infantry received their regimental colors in Detroit on May 11, 1861.

America in 1860: A Nation on the Move

Less than 100 years after the country's founding, its economy was soaring, thanks to inventions ranging from the sewing machine to the hydraulic turbine

In 1860, the United States was a youthful, vibrant, and rapidly growing nation. Only 84 years had passed since the Founding Fathers had crafted the Declaration of Independence, yet in that time, America had become a vast nation that sprawled across the entire continent. The population had swelled from fewer than 4 million to more than 31 million, thanks largely to immigration. Although increasing numbers of Americans were taking up urban trades, most were still farmers, especially in the South and the Western Territories.

The economy enjoyed steady growth too, fueled by a parade of recent inventions, including the sewing machine, the electric locomotive, the hydraulic turbine, the Bessemer steel process, and the Otis elevator. A golden age of shipbuilding enabled the United States to produce almost as much tonnage as Great Britain and all its colonies combined. Major cities such as New York—which boasted more than 800,000 residents in 1860—emerged from an era when pigs wandered dirt streets to an era of horse-drawn streetcars, paved streets, and city waterworks systems.

In the single decade of the 1850s, the amount of railroad track in the United States increased from approximately 9,000 miles to more than 30,000. Americans were eyewitnesses to a nation on the move, if not participants in it.

And yet a cultural and political chasm was widening across the country, and no one seemed able to heal it. Soon that chasm would claim the lives of more than 750,000 Americans. ■

AN EXPANDING ECONOMY helped both North and South. In New York City, Broadway teemed with activity (far left), while the inland port of St. Louis, on the Mississippi River, filled with commercial steamboats (near left).

THE UNITED STATES IN 1860

The U.S. government regulated the spread of slavery into Western Territories through a series of legislation, shown here.

KEEPING COUNT

THE LARGEST AMERICAN CITIES IN 1860

The 1860 U.S. Census ranked these the top 10 cities in the United States, according to population. Seven were located in the North; Baltimore and St. Louis were in border states. Only New Orleans was in the South.

1. NEW YORK CITY
805,651

2. PHILADELPHIA
562,529

3. BROOKLYN, N.Y.
266,661

4. BALTIMORE
212,418

5. BOSTON
177,812

6. NEW ORLEANS
168,675

7. CINCINNATI
161,044

8. ST. LOUIS
160,773

9. CHICAGO
109,260

10. BUFFALO, N.Y.
81,129

Two Nations in One: North vs. South

In spite of robust economic growth, cultural and political differences had formed a rift among the citizenry

Despite having much in common, Northerners and Southerners were drifting apart because of politics, but also because the regions had distinctively different cultures. The South was an agricultural society, controlled by the owners of large plantations. Southerners, generally traditional and conservative, were suspicious of a large national government. They favored states' rights and opposed taxation on imported goods. The South grew almost all of the nation's cotton, produced a majority of the country's military leaders, and had provided 9 of the first 15 American presidents.

The North, in contrast, was increasingly urban, progressive, and industrial. It held almost 90 percent of the nation's manufacturing, most of its railroads, and two-thirds of its population. The region's political leaders generally favored tariffs on imports to protect Northern business and industry, championed government-supported projects, and advocated a strong national government.

Fuel on the Smoldering Fire

The North's push for higher tariffs on imports incensed Southerners, who imported most manufactured items and feared higher prices.

They believed that Northern leaders, if unchecked, would eventually rule not only the states but also the daily lives of individual Americans. In turn, many Northerners saw Southern politicians as demanding, obstructionist, unpatriotic, and self-serving.

The issue of slavery was like fuel tossed on a smoldering fire of sectional rivalry. As Northern criticism of slavery increased, Southerners felt condemned and a nationalist movement steadily emerged. Many were alarmed when Northern newspapers hailed abolitionist John Brown as a hero for attempting to launch a slave revolt at Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, in 1859. Their sense of isolation deepened further the next year when Abraham Lincoln and the fledgling Republican Party—both of which were viewed as anti-Southern and antislavery—carried the presidential election. ■

A TRAIN CROSSED a suspension bridge over the Niagara River in New York (top). Slaves worked the sweet potato fields in South Carolina (above). Opposite: the Old Christ Church in Alexandria, Virginia, which dates to 1749. Union troops would occupy Alexandria within a month of the Battle of Fort Sumter, in 1861.

A Divisive National Issue

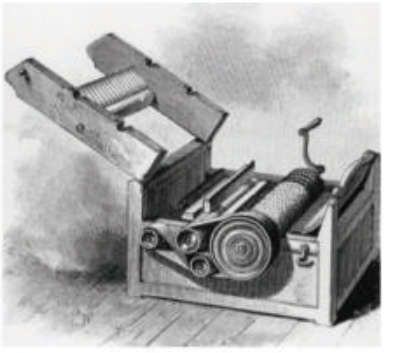
In the United States, there was little consensus on the slavery question from the time the first Africans were brought ashore in 1619 to the day South Carolina seceded in 1860.

1619 Slavery is introduced to America in the colony of Virginia.

1787 Northwest Ordinance, enacted by Congress, restricts slavery in Northern territories.

1793 First Fugitive Slave Act requires the return of escaped slaves.

1793 Eli Whitney's cotton gin spurs demand for slave labor.



1807 Congress outlaws the importation of slaves from abroad.

1831 Nat Turner slave revolt in Virginia alarms Southerners.

1852 *Uncle Tom's Cabin* by Harriet Beecher Stowe is published.

1855 Violent attacks in Kansas occur as antislavery factions and proslavery raiders clash.

1856 The newly formed antislavery Republican Party holds its first presidential-nominating convention in Philadelphia.

1857 The *Dred Scott* decision by U.S. Supreme Court upholds the constitutionality of slavery.

1859 John Brown leads an unsuccessful abolitionist raid on U.S. Armory and Arsenal at Harpers Ferry, West Virginia.

1860 Republican Abraham Lincoln is elected president; South Carolina secedes from the Union.

Slavery Comes to America

Southern agriculture hinged on the slave workforce

The first African slaves in America were brought to Virginia's Jamestown Colony in 1619 aboard an English ship sailing under a Dutch flag. There were approximately 20 of them.

In the decades that followed, America's slave population expanded dramatically and slavery became a national institution that was both allowed by the U.S. Constitution and endorsed in rulings by the U.S. Supreme Court. The North, with its shipping centers like Newport, Rhode Island, served as the slave trade's commercial heart until 1807, when Congress banned the importation of slaves. Slavery, however, remained legal in many states. In the North, the practice was allowed in New York until 1827, and in New Jersey until 1846, then eventually began to fade.

Not so in the agricultural South, where slave labor was considered critical to the region's economy. In 1793, the invention of the cotton gin boosted the crop's profitability and increased the demand for slave labor to produce it. By 1860, most of the 4 million slaves in the United States were held in the Southern states.

As the institution grew, however, so

THOUGH SLAVE OWNERS often split up families, many slaves forged strong family ties (as shown above), with strangers stepping in to care for children separated from their relatives. During the colonial period, slavery was banned in Georgia. However, by the late 18th century, slaves were crucial to Georgia's economy, cultivating vast amounts of rice and cotton (opposite).

did opposition to it. An increasing number of Americans, including some in the South, believed that the institution was harmful to slave owners as well as to slaves. "In the order of divine Providence, the man who puts one end of a chain around the ankle of his fellow man will find the other end around his own neck," said Frederick Douglass, the leading 19th century African-American opponent of slavery.

Stoking Southern Fears

While some Southerners wished to see slavery abolished, most slave owners did not, so the abolitionist movement drew its strength from the North. There, public sentiment against slavery gradually increased. By midcentury, Northern abolitionism had become a significant political force, and public criticism of slavery and Southern slaveholders had acquired a harsh tone. Meanwhile, unsuccessful slave uprisings, such as Nat Turner's revolt in Virginia in 1831, stoked Southern fears that Northerners were stirring discontent. In response, Southerners became increasingly defensive and viewed those who were antislavery to also be anti-Southern. ■

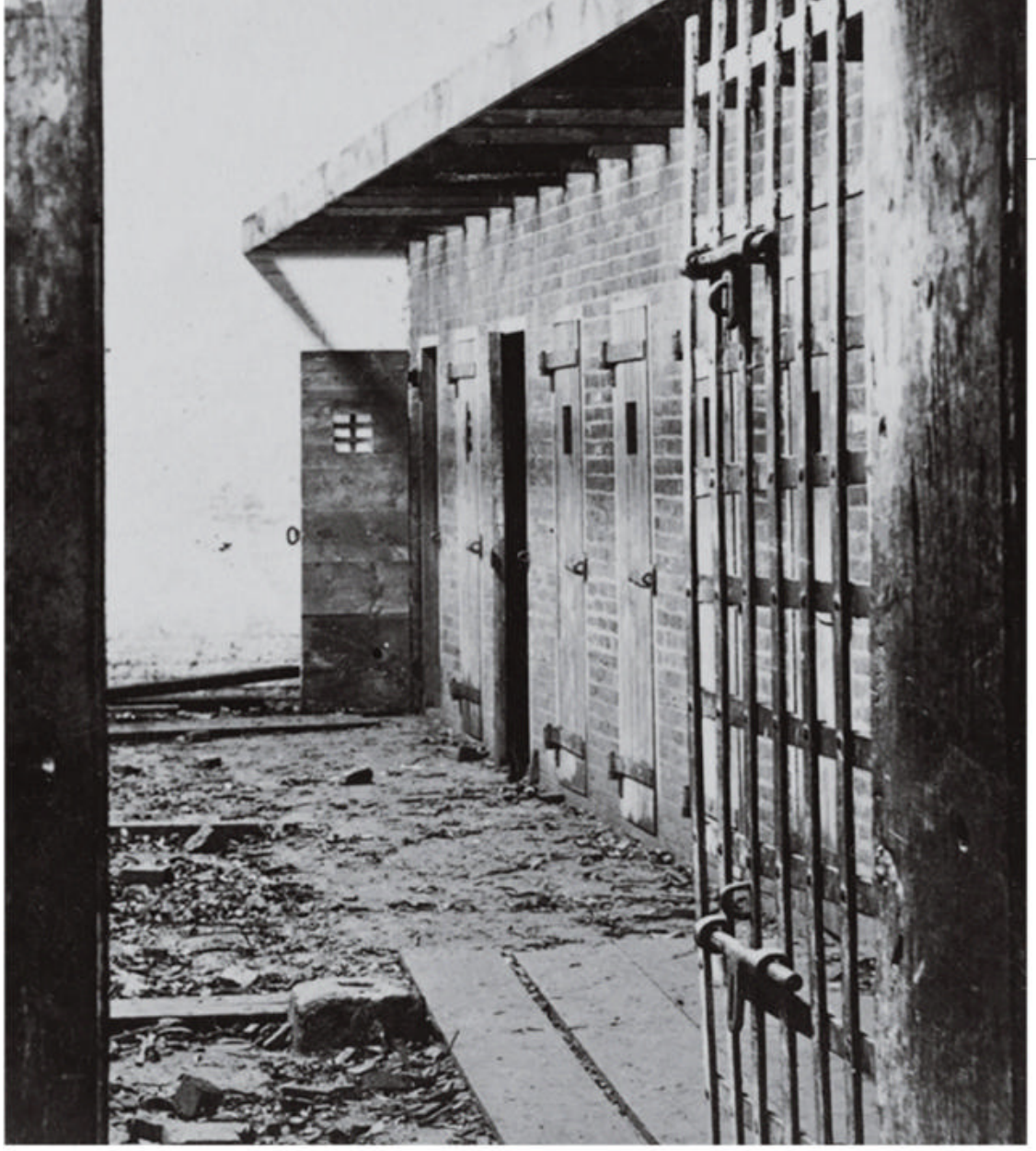
FOUR ABOLITIONISTS

There were Americans in both the North and South who opposed slavery. Sisters **Sarah** (above) and **Angelina Grimké,** for example, were raised on a plantation in Charleston, South Carolina, witnessed the cruelty of slavery at a young age, and vowed to fight it. After converting to Quakerism, the siblings moved to Philadelphia, where their views were more accepted. In 1836, Angelina published a pamphlet, *Appeal to the Christian Women of the South,* pleading other women to join the cause. "I know you do not make the laws," she wrote. "But I also know that you are the wives and mothers, the sisters and daughters of those who do; and if you really suppose you can do nothing to overthrow slavery, you are greatly mistaken." Meanwhile, **Robert Purvis,** also of Charleston—the son of a Jewish businessman and a free Black woman—teamed up with abolitionist **William Lloyd Garrison,** the publisher of the newspaper *The Liberator*, and helped establish an antislavery society while also traveling to Britain to meet with abolitionists there.

UNCLE TOM'S CABIN

As tensions between North and South reached a fever pitch, a novel by abolitionist **Harriet Beecher Stowe** stoked the sectional rivalry. Published in 1852, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* sympathetically depicted the plight of American slaves. It sold more than 300,000 copies, becoming the best-selling novel of the 19th century, and it inspired countless Northerners to oppose slavery. Many Southerners, however, believed the North shared responsibility for slavery and felt unfairly attacked by Stowe's powerful prose.

ON PLANTATIONS, slaves were packed into poorly constructed, largely unfurnished cabins with dirt floors (top). To appease abolitionists, some owners built better housing, raising cabins off the ground. Laws in the South condoned and often required violence against slaves (above). Owners could be fined, and they risked forfeiting their slaves for not punishing them enough. Opposite, top: Slave pens in Alexandria, Virginia, were larger than elsewhere in the South. This complex featured a tailor to clothe slaves before auction. Bottom: Slaves were forced to reproduce, either with each other or with their owners.



The Underground Railroad

Secret routes and safe houses

In the decades leading to the Civil War, untold numbers of slaves escaped to the North, Canada, and Mexico through the Underground Railroad. This loosely organized and highly secret system provided temporary shelter, meeting places, and transportation for escapees; participants communicated by word of mouth. While white Northerners managed the railroad, it was the fortitude of escaped slaves that made it successful. One of the best-known was Frederick Douglass, who made his way north through the Underground Railroad in 1838, became an outspoken abolitionist, and served on two occasions as an adviser to President Lincoln. Similarly, Harriet Tubman, a Maryland field hand who took the railroad to freedom in 1849, helped as many as 300 slaves escape in the years that followed. She was so skilled at helping others to freedom—it was said she never lost a passenger—that she became known as Moses. Tubman was also a nurse, a scout, and a spy for the Northern Army and later became an outspoken supporter of women's suffrage. At its peak, the Underground Railroad enabled as many as 2,000 slaves a year to liberate themselves from bondage.

The Union Is Dissolved

South Carolina seceded from the United States of America and tipped the scales to war

As results of the presidential election of November 6, 1860, rolled in, South Carolina's legislature met in Charleston and remained in session for the day. When the news of Lincoln's victory arrived, the lawmakers voted to convene an emergency state election.

On December 20, 1860, the delegates met in Charleston and unanimously voted for the ordinance of secession, declaring South Carolina an independent republic and no longer a part of the United States of America. Some South Carolinians received the news with despair; most, however, welcomed secession with joyful celebration. ■

DELEGATES TO THE SOUTH CAROLINA secession convention (above) voted unanimously to secede from the United States in December 1860. They signed the ordinance making the move official at Charleston's Institute Hall (right).

A Special Edition

Breaking the news

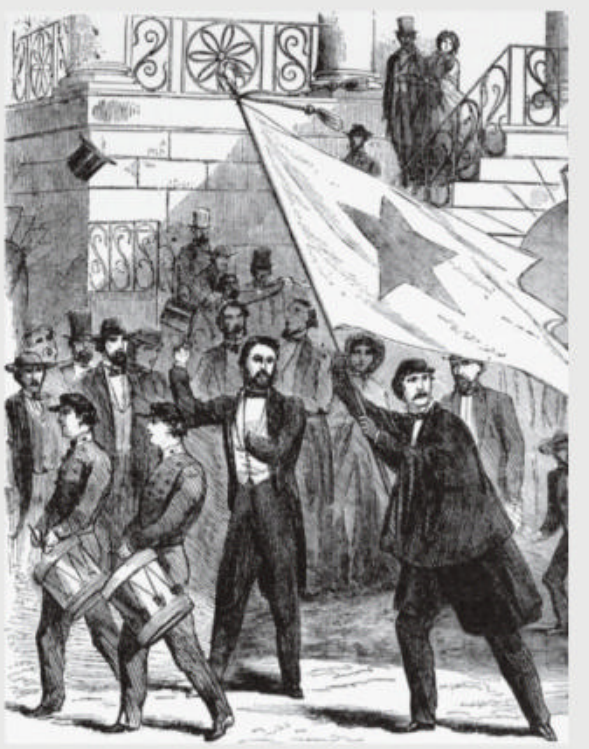
When South Carolina's secession convention voted to take the Palmetto State out of the Union, the *Charleston Mercury* was standing by its printing press to report the news. Fifteen minutes after the monumental vote, the newspaper was ready to distribute a special broadsheet topped by a giant headline: "The Union Is Dissolved."

On the street outside the newspaper office, the paper was read to a crowd of Charlestonians, who erupted in cheers. The text of the *Mercury*'s edition:

Passed unanimously at 1.15 o'clock, P.M., December 20th, 1860. An ordinance to dissolve the Union between the State of South Carolina and other States united with her under the compact entitled "The Constitution of the United States of America."

We, the People of the State of South Carolina, in Convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained,

That the Ordinance adopted by us in Convention, on the twenty-third day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, whereby the Constitution of the United States of America was ratified, and also, all Acts and parts of Acts of the General Assembly of this State, ratifying amendments of the said Constitution, are hereby repealed; and that the union now subsisting between South Carolina and other States, under the name of "The United States of America," is hereby dissolved. The Union is dissolved.



First Fire on Fort Sumter

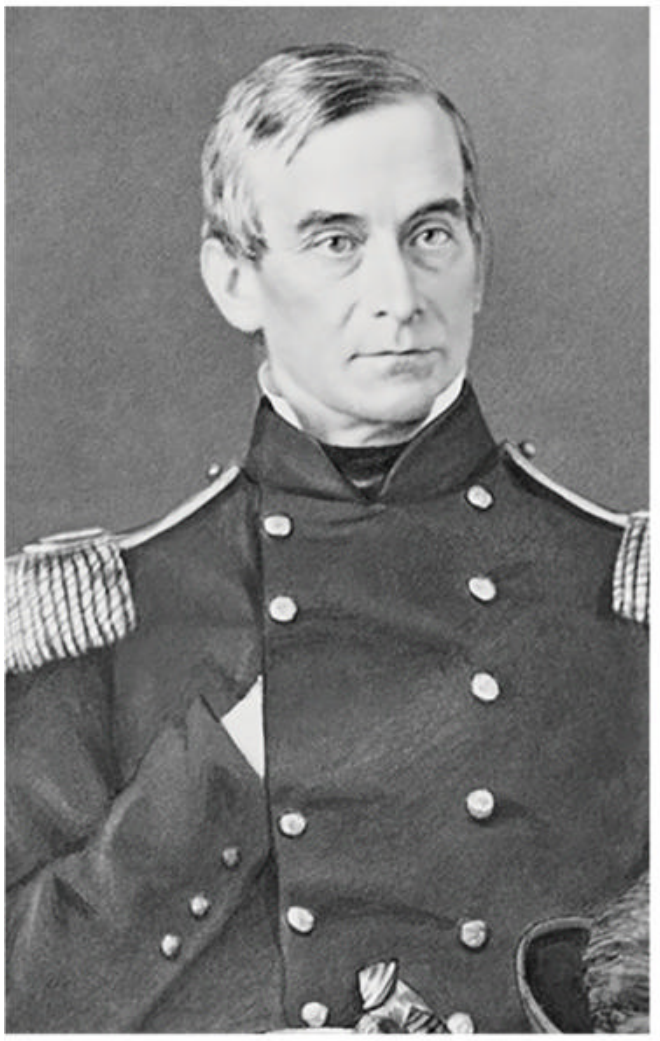
On April 12, 1861, Confederate forces attacked a U.S. Army post, and the Civil War began

At twilight on December 26, 1860, U.S. Army Major Robert Anderson issued a surprise order to the U.S. troops posted to Charleston, South Carolina: Pack up and be ready to move out in 20 minutes. Anderson was the senior U.S. Army officer in Charleston, and he was alarmed that the Palmetto State had seceded. He wanted to relocate his garrison to the most defensible position under his command: an army post on a small island in the middle of Charleston's harbor known as Fort Sumter.

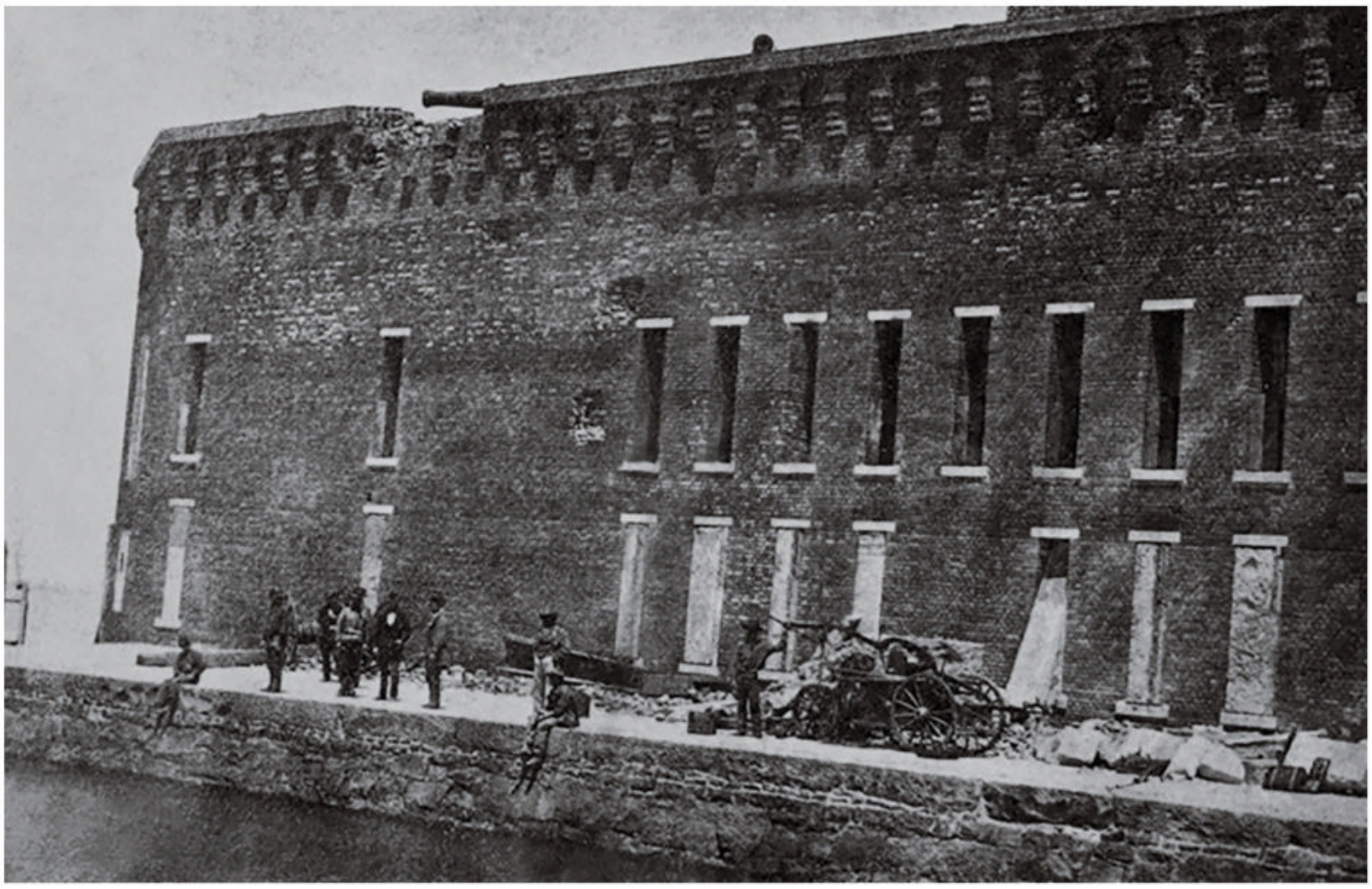
South Carolina officials viewed Anderson's move as an act of war. Governor Francis Pickens officially asked federal authorities in Washington to withdraw the major and his garrison. Instead, outgoing President James Buchanan dispatched an unarmed ship, the *Star of the West*, to reinforce Fort Sumter. On January 9, 1861—in what was arguably the first shot of the Civil War—the *Star of the West* was turned back by artillery fire from South Carolina troops as it approached Charleston.

A State for a Fort

By the time Lincoln was inaugurated in March, Anderson and his men had prepared for battle and Fort Sumter had become the standoff between the North and the South. Charleston Harbor was ringed with artillery batteries manned by Confederate soldiers. President Jefferson Davis, who had been named president of the Confederate States of America in early February, insisted that no Federal soldiers could remain on Confederate land and even offered to pay to transport Anderson and his men elsewhere. But Lincoln's cabinet was divided on whether to evacuate the fort. The president openly considered a proposal to abandon Fort Sumter if Virginia in exchange would agree to remain



THIS 1861 COLOR LITHOGRAPH by Northern publisher Currier & Ives (opposite page) depicted the bombardment of Fort Sumter, based on eyewitness accounts. Major Robert Anderson (far left) was the Northern commander of Fort Sumter. He was a former instructor at West Point, where he had taught General Beauregard (near left), the Confederate commander opposing him at Charleston. The men considered each other friends. Below, Major Anderson (seated second from the left in the front row) and the officers who served under him at Fort Sumter.



in the Union. "A state for a fort is not a bad business," he declared.

Time to Fight or Back Down

Complicating the crisis, Lincoln's secretary of state, William Henry Seward, opened backdoor negotiations with the South using former U.S. Supreme Court Justice John A. Campbell, a Confederate sympathizer, as an intermediary. Seward assured the Southern leaders that Lincoln would abandon Fort Sumter, and Confederate commander General P.G.T. Beauregard opened negotiations with Major Anderson on how to best evacuate the stronghold.

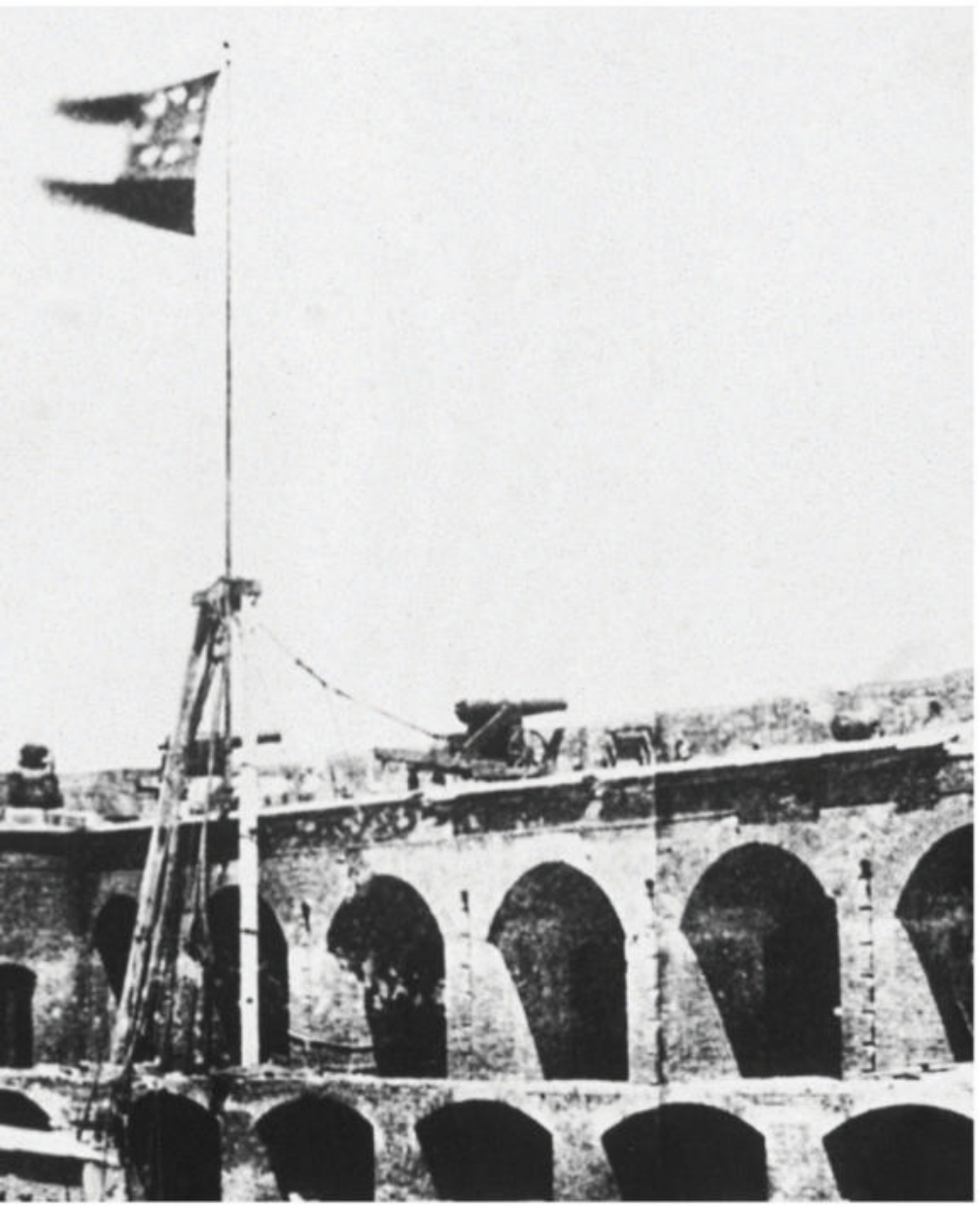
Instead of evacuating Fort Sumter, however, President Lincoln officially notified South Carolina Governor Francis Wilkinson Pickens that he was dispatching a military expedition to resupply it.

Confederate leaders felt betrayed. Believing it was time to either fight or back down, President Davis ordered Beauregard to open fire if Anderson refused to surrender. When a Southern delegation brought Anderson the ultimatum, the major explained that he could not surrender without orders. Solemnly, he and the Southerners shook hands and said goodbye. "If we never meet in this world again," Anderson said, "God grant that we may meet in the next."

Opening a Thunderous Attack

At 4:30 a.m. on April 12, 1861, the Confederate artillery batteries opened a thunderous attack on Fort Sumter. Across the harbor in Charleston, residents watched the bombardment from their rooftops; some wept. Anderson's troops returned fire with Fort Sumter's artillery, but they were outgunned. At 1:00 p.m. the next day, with the fort barracks ablaze and the fire threatening the nearby powder magazine, Major Anderson agreed to surrender.

Unlike the four-year bloodbath that would follow, no one on either side was killed during the fighting. The conflict's sole death occurred on April 14, during the official surrender ceremony, when Major Anderson's troops were firing a salute to the U.S. flag. A cannon exploded, slaying an Irish-born private named Daniel Hough. Five other soldiers were wounded, one of whom died a few days later. ■



FORT SUMTER (OPPOSITE, in 1861) had been built on a small, man-made island in Charleston's harbor after the War of 1812 to fortify the Southern coast. It was made from heavy masonry and named for Revolutionary War hero General Thomas Sumter. Southern officials examined one of the fort's artillery pieces (above) following the surrender. After U.S. Army forces surrendered, the Confederate flag was raised over the fort's burned-out barracks and battered ramparts (left).

FRIENDS, THEN FOES

The war not only divided the nation in two but tore apart families and tested the friendships of many, including **Pierre Gustave Toutant Beauregard** (above), who commanded the Southern troops at Fort Sumter, and **U.S. Army Major Robert Anderson,** who led the North in the battle. Born on a Louisiana sugar plantation, Beauregard trained as a civil engineer, served in the Mexican-American War under General Winfield Scott, and was the first Confederate brigadier general to be named in the Civil War. During the standoff at Fort Sumter, Beauregard sent Anderson, his former instructor at West Point, cases of brandy and cigars as a gesture of respect. Anderson refused them. Anderson, meanwhile, was from a prestigious Kentucky family—his father was an aid to Marquis de Lafayette during the American Revolutionary War and his mother was related to John Marshall, the fourth Chief Justice of the U.S. Unionists believed that having Anderson, a Southerner, hold the fortress would be seen as a conciliatory gesture to the Confederates and stave off an attack. The strategy failed, but even after Anderson surrendered, he was hailed as a hero in North. He went on a tour recruiting soldiers and raising money for the Union cause.

WITNESS TO WAR

The Diary of Mary Chesnut

The Civil War's opening combat was witnessed from a Charleston, South Carolina, rooftop

When Confederate forces opened fire on Fort Sumter, one of the civilians who witnessed it was South Carolinian Mary Boykin Chesnut. The daughter of a South Carolina governor, Mary was married to James Chesnut Jr., a former U.S. senator from South Carolina who served as an aide to General P.G.T. Beauregard. Although Mary Chesnut personally despised slavery, she was devoted to the South and enthusiastically supported the Confederacy. She began keeping a diary early in the war and continued it throughout the conflict. Her proximity to key people and events produced an extraordinary eyewitness account of the Civil War, which was published long after her death as *A Diary from Dixie*. In April 1861, she observed the bombardment of Fort Sumter from a Charleston rooftop—as reported in this excerpt from her diary:

No sleep for anybody last night. The streets were alive with soldiers, men shouting, marching, singing.... Today things seem to have settled down a little. One can but hope still.

Lincoln and Seward have made such silly advances and then far sillier drawings back. There may be a chance for peace, after all. Things are happening so fast.... Why did that green goose Anderson go into Fort Sumter? Then everything began to go wrong....

April 12, 1861

I did not pretend to go to sleep. How can I? If Anderson does not accept terms—at four—the orders are—he shall be fired upon. I count four—Saint Michael chimes. I begin to hope. At half-past four, the heaving booming of a cannon.

I sprang out of bed. And on my knees—prostrate—I prayed as I never prayed before.

There was a sound of stir all over the house—pattering of feet in the corridor—all seemed hurrying one way. I put on my double gown and a shawl and went, too. It was to the housetop.

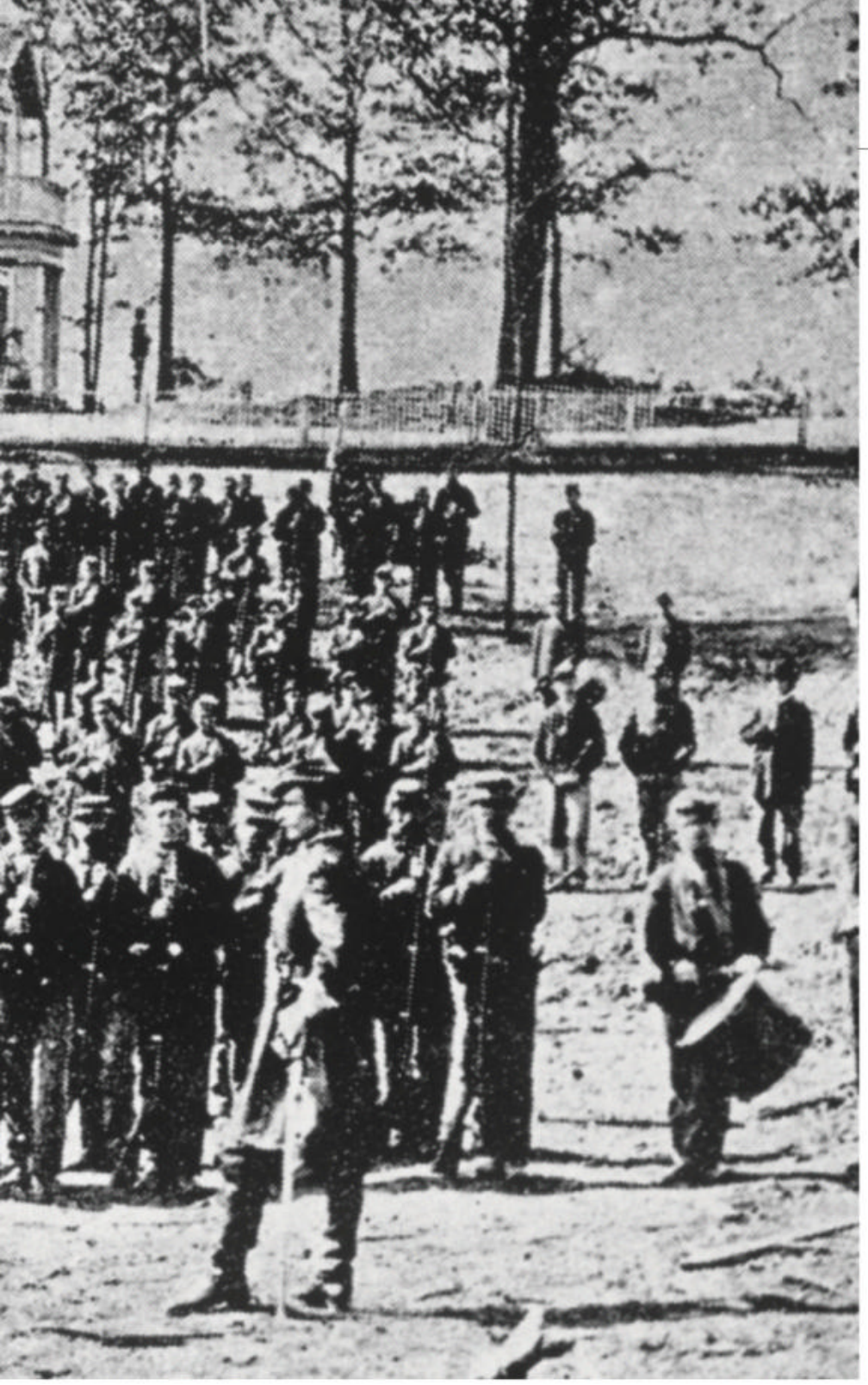
The shells were bursting. In the dark I heard a man say, "waste of ammunition."

I knew my husband was rowing about in a boat somewhere in that dark bay. And that the shells were roofing it over—bursting toward the fort. If Anderson was obstinate—he was to order the forts on our side to open fire. Certainly fire had begun. The regular roar of the cannon—there it was. And who could tell what each volley accomplished of death and destruction.

The women were wild, there on the housetop. Prayers from the women and imprecations from the men, and then a shell would light up the scene. ■

MARY BOYKIN CHESNUT (opposite) and her husband, James, were active in the ruling circles of the Confederate states government. Her journal entries were published as *A Diary from Dixie* and became a classic of Civil War literature. In this 1861 newspaper image, Chesnut and other Charleston residents were pictured watching the bombardment of Fort Sumter from the city's rooftops.

THROUGHOUT THE NORTH, volunteers (above) rushed to join the Federal army in response to the bombardment of Fort Sumter. Aware that they might never return home, soldiers on both sides of the conflict—here, a recruit from Ohio (near right) and a Confederate soldier (far right)—had their photos taken, sometimes alone, but also with family. New recruits to the 4th Georgian Infantry (opposite) assembled beneath the Confederate National Flag in early 1861. Similar scenes occurred throughout the South.



Organizing the Troops

North and South mobilized as four more states seceded and the Confederate capital was established

In response to the capture of Fort Sumter, President Lincoln issued a call for 75,000 volunteers to invade the South and "suppress the insurrection." Each state was expected to provide a quota of troops, and men poured forth to defend the Union. North Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee, and Arkansas, the four states of the upper South that were still in the Union, however, balked: They refused to supply troops to invade the Confederacy and would bar Northern armies from crossing into their territory to do so. The four rebel governments promptly seceded and joined the Confederacy, giving the new nation a total of 11 states.

In the South, President Davis called for 150,000 volunteers to defend against Northern invasion. Southerners matched the Union in its patriotic fervor, filling army units with young soldiers ready to defend their homeland.

The conscripts flooded cities and towns in North and South and were sent to huge training camps, where they were organized into companies, regiments, brigades, corps, and armies. Although swelling with enthusiasm and trained on both sides by veterans of the prewar U.S. Army, the volunteers who raced to fight were amateurs.

Predicting Heavy Bloodshed

In May 1861, the Confederate congress voted to move the Confederacy's national capital from backwater Montgomery, Alabama, to Richmond, Virginia, a more populous city that was also a transportation hub, major river port, and rare Southern industrial center. Relocating the Confederate capital to Virginia guaranteed that the state would become the seat of the conflict, although almost no one in the North or the South expected the war to be long or bloody. Many naive leaders on both sides believed their side would win with a single decisive battle, and within three months. Accordingly, volunteers on both sides were issued 90-day enlistments.

It was commonly boasted in the South that "a lady's thimble will hold all the blood that will be shed"—and one Southern politician famously vowed to drink it. A few thought differently. "This country will be drenched in blood," predicted William T. Sherman, a Northerner. ■

The War Sparks a Boom in the North

To cover the $2.5 million a day it cost to wage war, the government introduced tariffs and printed money

The North was stricken by a brief economic downturn in the war's opening days but soon rebounded with a prolonged financial boom. Never, proclaimed the *New York Herald* in 1864, had New York City been "so crowded, so prosperous." The competing *New York Times* agreed: In the midst of "the most gigantic civil war the world has yet seen," the Northern people were living and eating well and had plenty to wear.

No longer hampered by its Southern members, who had resigned to join the Confederacy, the U.S. Congress promptly increased import tariffs to help cover the cost of war. Northern legislators also enacted America's first national income tax and levied a revenue tax on virtually every item used in manufacturing and retailing—wood, leather, metal, textiles, iron, steel, stone, and more. A license tax was required for every imaginable profession, from attorneys and bankers to horse traders and pawnbrokers. Butchers paid a 10 cent tax for every hog sold, 5 cents for every sheep, and 30 cents for every cow. Even street jugglers had to pay the government a license fee to perform on the sidewalk.

The Federal government also printed massive amounts of paper money, borrowed huge sums at high interest, and sold war bonds. Flush with revenues, officials purchased uniforms, boots, rifles, revolvers, livestock, medicine, and countless other items in vast quantities.

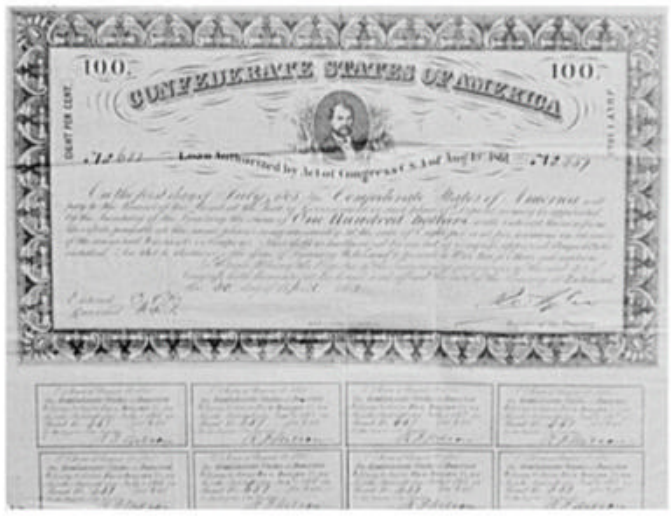
The immense demand for products spurred the Industrial Revolution in America, giving rise to the assembly line and regional industries ranging from iron ore to railroad to flour milling. So much Northern corn and wheat were grown during the war that the exported excess amounted to 40 percent of Great Britain's grain consumption.

"You are rushing into war with one of the most powerful, ingeniously mechanical and determined people on earth," a Northerner had warned a Southern acquaintance in 1860. "You are bound to fail." It was a prediction that proved correct. ■

THE WAR CHANGED LIFE in the North in many ways. New York City civilians studied casualty lists posted outside a local newspaper office (above). The North's industrial output dwarfed the South's; the work floor of the Starr Arms Company (left), a Northern firearms manufacturer in Yonkers, New York. A New York City street (opposite) bustled with carriages, streetcars, wagons, and foot traffic.

A CONTROVERSIAL FIRST LADY

Mary Ann Todd (above) was in many ways an unlikely match for her husband, **Abraham Lincoln.** A well-educated Kentucky belle whose family owned slaves, Mary was as impulsive and vivacious as the future president was measured. She was also nine years his junior, and her family opposed the match on the grounds Lincoln had little money and almost no formal education. But the couple would not be dissuaded, and in 1842, they married. While Mary's social ambitions were fulfilled when she became First Lady, and she won praise as a charming hostess who tastefully redecorated the executive mansion, she was also criticized for her lavish spending and sometimes eccentric behavior. As a mother, she suffered deeply—only one of her four sons outlived her—and 10 years after Lincoln was assassinated, she was briefly institutionalized, though her actual mental condition is still debated.



The Confederate Economy Crashes Quickly

Southerners endured the impact of runaway inflation

Financial conditions in the South, a Confederate official would bluntly recall, "went down steadily, rapidly, fatally" and never rebounded.

Confederate leaders had assumed that cotton sales to Britain would float the Southern economy, but English textile mills had amassed large emergency stores of cotton before the war, and "King Cotton" was dethroned by crops needed to feed Southern soldiers. Hampered by invasion and slowly strangled by the Federal naval blockade, the Southern economy came to a standstill.

Like their Northern counterparts, Southern leaders tried to finance the war with government bonds, taxation, short-term loans, and massive amounts of paper money, but nothing worked. The inherent Southern suspicion of central government had placed restrictions on taxation in the Confederate States Constitution.

Borrowing money from state governments offered little help, government bonds lost their value, and the excessive printing of Confederate currency only fueled debilitating inflation. In March 1861, the Confederate States Congress authorized the printing of $1 million in Confederate currency; five months later, it ordered $100 million more.

Desperate, the Richmond government churned out more and more currency until—in the words of a Confederate official—it was "spinning out the notes like a whirlwind in autumn."

WITH GOODS SCARCE, Southerners improvised, making draperies into dresses and uniforms (top), resoling shoes with wood instead of leather, and producing candles from beeswax. Above and right: Confederate currency of various denominations. The Confederate dollar was a promissory note of credit; holders were promised compensation six months after the end of the war. Unlike the U.S. dollar, the Confederate dollar was not pegged to a tangible asset, such as gold.

A Favorite of the Czar, and the South

Lucy Holcombe Pickens, the First Lady of South Carolina

Lucy Holcombe Pickens, one of the Confederacy's most celebrated women, was born in Tennessee and was raised on a cotton plantation in eastern Texas. She completed her education at a finishing school in the North, and at age 25, she married U.S. congressman Francis W. Pickens, a widower 27 years her senior. When Pickens was appointed U.S. ambassador to Russia, his new wife accompanied him to Saint Petersburg, becoming a favorite in the court of Czar Alexander II. Czarina Maria even moved Lucy into the imperial palace to give birth to her daughter, Eugenia Frances Dorothea. In 1860, Ambassador Pickens returned to South Carolina and was elected governor in time to preside over the Fort Sumter crisis. As South Carolina's First Lady, Lucy Pickens was widely admired. She reportedly financed a regiment of troops—the Lucy Holcombe Legion—by selling jewelry given to her by the czar. In 1862, Confederate States Treasury Secretary Christopher Memminger honored Pickens by adorning Confederate one-hundred and one-dollar treasury notes with her likeness, which led to her becoming known as the Queen of the Confederacy. A more lasting achievement: Pickens would be credited for introducing iced tea to Southern society.

Skyrocketing Prices in the South

Meanwhile, runaway inflation caused the cost of common commodities to skyrocket. By 1865, a yard of cloth cost $60 in Confederate currency. A pound of butter was $35. A pair of shoes cost $800. The price of a barrel of flour was $1,400. In Richmond, hotel guests doing business in the capital complained that innkeepers would not accept payment at night because prices might need to be higher in the morning. Some Southerners turned to profiteering or hoarding.

"We fell into the habit of paying whatever was asked," a Southerner recalled, "knowing that tomorrow we should have to pay more." Such conditions undermined the Southern war effort and placed a debilitating burden on the Southern people that was unknown in the North. ■

THE INTERIOR OF St. Andrew's Hall in Charleston, South Carolina, where the South Carolina Secession Convention met in 1860 (above). The hall was destroyed in a fire on December 11, 1861, along with five churches and 600 private homes. A New York newspaper suggested that the blaze was divine retribution. Among the first cities to be conquered by Union troops was Beaufort, South Carolina (top right); when the town was taken in 1861, homes were seized to be used as officers' quarters. A regiment of Zouave troops, the Louisiana Tigers, assembled in New Orleans in 1861 (right). Zouave originally referred to an infantry of the French army, made up of North African recruits.

"I Just Like to Be Free"

Slaves were affected by the same shortages that befell many Southerners

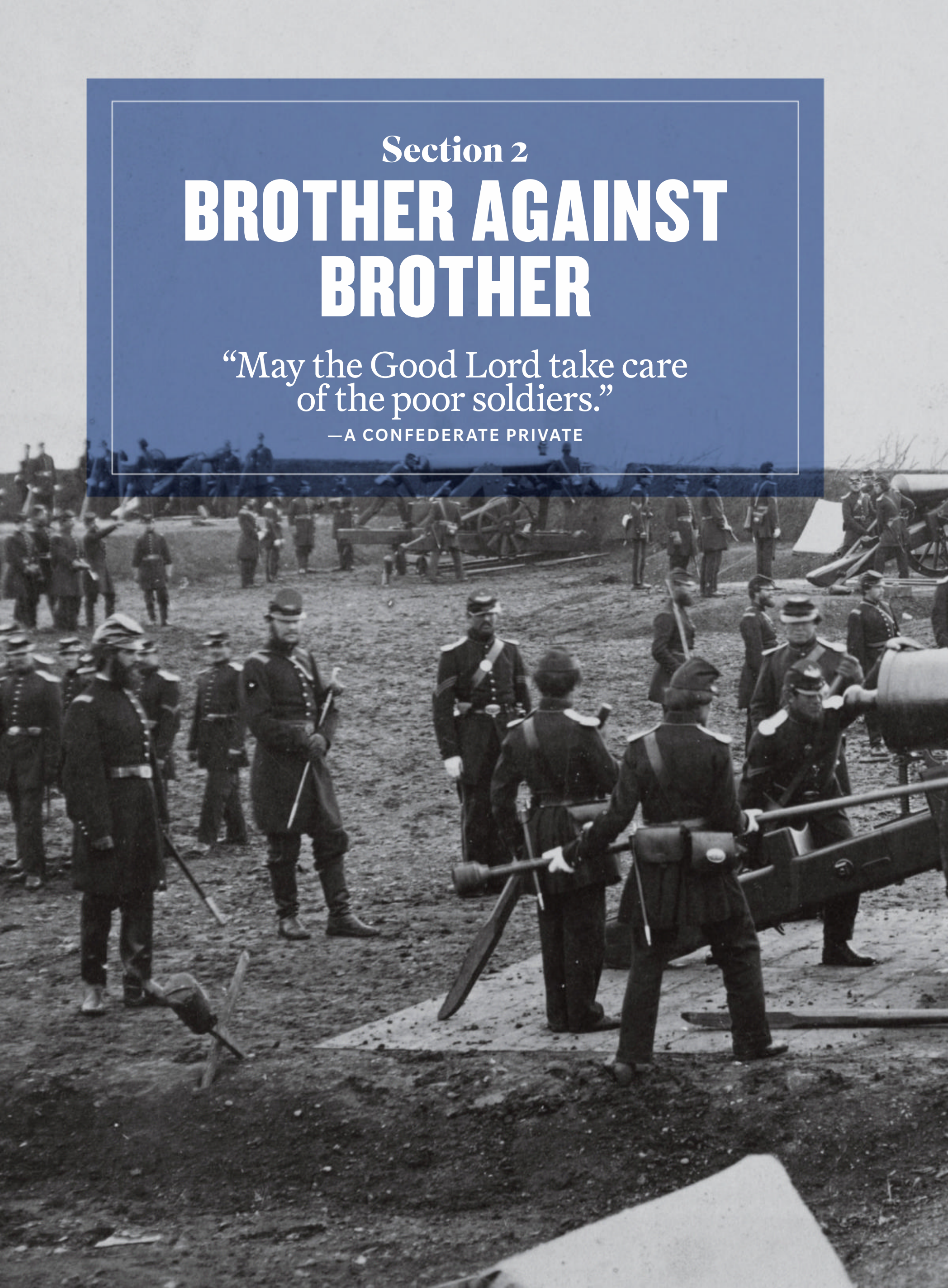
"We bring in some 500 prisoners, a good many refugees and about ten miles of Negroes," reported Federal general William T. Sherman in 1863.

Everywhere that Federal forces conducted operations, escaped slaves, officially called contrabands, fell in behind the blue-uniformed troops. Where possible, sprawling contraband camps were established, and some former slaves were put to work performing chores for the troops. Others were recruited into the Northern military.

Most Southern slaves, however, remained at home for a variety of reasons: their owners refused to free them, repelled by the destruction of private property by Federal armies, felt they were ill-treated by Northern troops, or simply had no place to go.

The severe hardship and shortages that befell other Southerners during the war also affected slaves. "We didn't have nothing to eat except hardtack and middin' meat," recalled former slave Sarah Debro. "I thought it 'twuz mule meat."

Even slaves who were loyal to their owners celebrated when freedom came: "I saw the Yankee soldiers [come]," former slave Melvin Smith recalled. "I heard some folks say that they stole their vittles, but they never bothered ours 'cause they had plenty of their own. Master called us together and said, 'You is free and can go if you want to.' Ol' Master was good and kind . . . but I just like to be free."

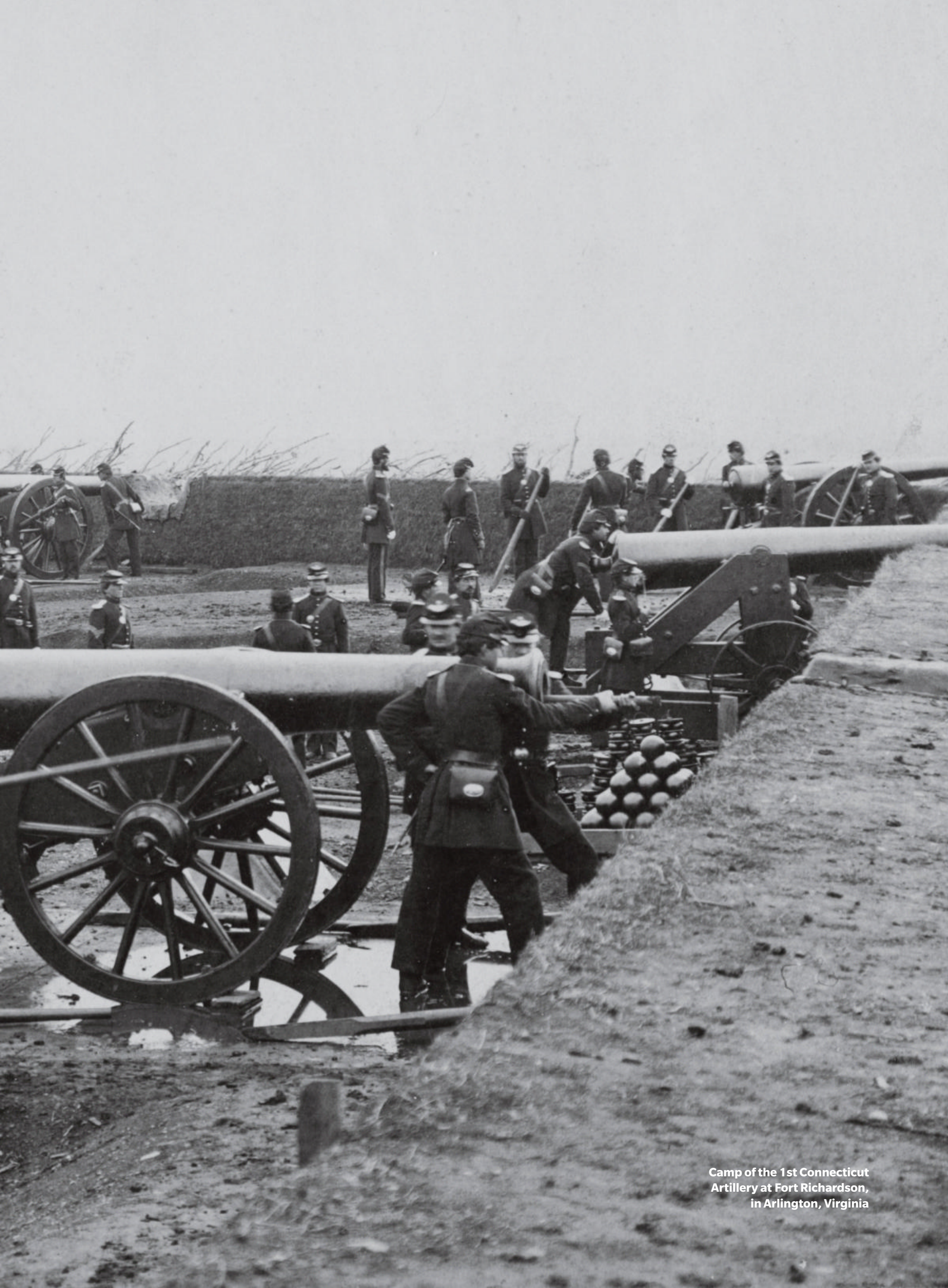


Section 2

BROTHER AGAINST BROTHER

"May the Good Lord take care of the poor soldiers."

—A CONFEDERATE PRIVATE



Camp of the 1st Connecticut Artillery at Fort Richardson, in Arlington, Virginia

Soldiers North and South Rush to Arms

Military life quickly lost its romance as troops battled fatigue and boredom

"Johnny Reb" and "Billy Yank" rushed to war with notions of heroic charges and battlefield bravado. Yet as the newly made soldiers were assembled in training camps throughout the North and South, the reality of military life quickly lost its romance. "We are locked up just like Prisoners," a youthful Yankee wrote home from camp, "and can't get no chance to get out." One of his Rebel counterparts shared his outlook: "This is the damnest place that I ever seen," he wrote.

Many, however, considered military service to be their duty to their country. "Camp life I find to be hard," wrote a Southern recruit, "[but] I will make the best of it." Some gloried in their newfound soldier's life. "I am well and well satisfied," wrote an enthusiastic Rebel. "I weigh one hundred and 40 [and] I am much of a man."

Patriotism, Duty, and a Military Draft

Duty was not the sole motivation for military service in the Civil War. Some Northerners joined the ranks in order to earn government enlistment bonuses. Some Southerners volunteered as paid substitutes for wealthy slave owners.

When the bloodshed drained the manpower, both sides enacted unpopular draft laws. Southerners denounced conscription as a violation of states' rights. The 80 percent who owned no slaves bitterly resented draft exemptions granted to large slave owners.

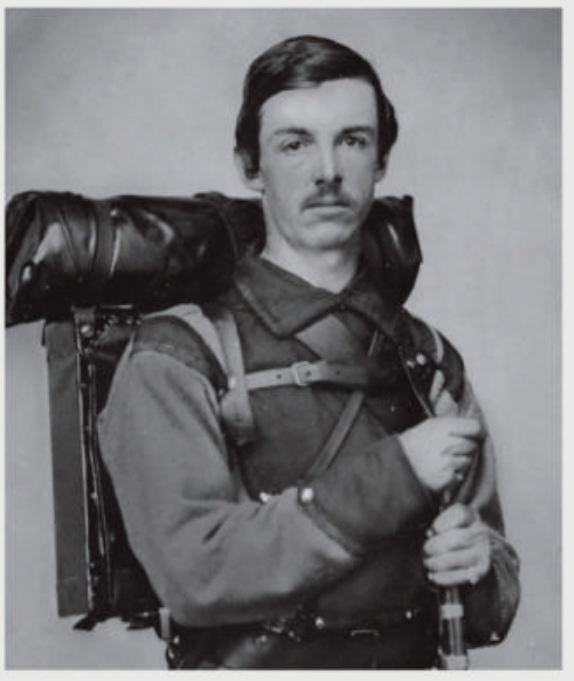
In the North, the draft was so controversial that it sparked riots. In 1863, there was a three-day uprising in New York City that resulted in serious destruction and dozens of deaths.

Many soldiers, however, were genuinely motivated by patriotism or devotion to a cause. For some, ending slavery or defending it was reason enough to enlist. In their letters, Northern soldiers generally cited a heartfelt duty to preserve the Union, while Southerners were mainly motivated to defend home and family and to help achieve Southern nationhood.

As the war continued, many soldiers North and South came to see war itself as the enemy. They battled, but

KEEPING COUNT
WHO WAS A "TYPICAL" CIVIL WAR SOLDIER?

Almost 3 million men served in the Northern army, while 750,000 to 1 million fought for the South. Armies on both sides were overwhelmingly white, although the North accepted Black soldiers midway through the war and the South tried to do so at war's end. Three brigades of Native Americans fought for the South, and three regiments for the North. The ranks on both sides included many German, Irish, English, and Canadian immigrants, and the Confederacy's Texas regiments included numerous Hispanics. Most soldiers appear to have been between ages18 and 46, although the manpower-short South fielded teenagers and old men.



SOLDIER AGE

Age	Number of Soldiers
13	127
14	330
15	773
16	2,758
17	6,424
18	133,475
19	90,215
21+	980,481

SOLDIER HEIGHT

Average	5-foot-8¼
Tallest	6-foot-10½
Shortest	3-foot-4

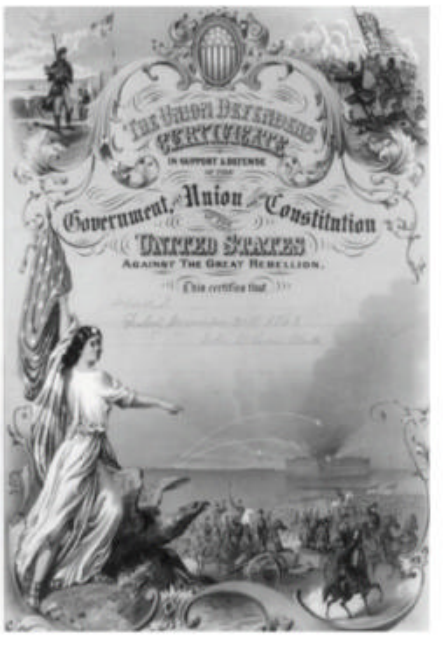
SOLDIER WEIGHT

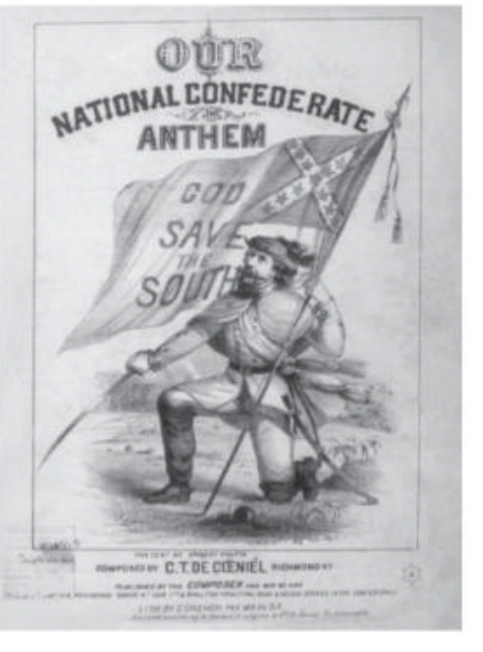
Average	143 pounds

ORIGIN OF FOREIGN-BORN SOLDIERS

Nation	Percentage
Germany	35%
Ireland	30%
England	10%
Canada	10%
Other	15%

merely to survive. As Northern victory became increasingly imminent, Southern soldiers shared both their determination and their despair in their letters home, while Northern troops often expressed a renewed sense of purpose. "I can see for myself what this army is for," wrote a young Federal officer, "and what it really does." ■





READY TO MAKE THE MOVE from civilian life to military service, a crowd of volunteers lined up outside a Northern recruiting station (opposite). Military certificates like these (near right) were given to some Union soldiers. "God Save the South," a poem by George Henry Miles (pen name Earnest Halphin), was turned into a song that came to be considered the unofficial anthem for the Confederacy (far right).

WITNESS TO WAR

Sworn into Service

Four million American men said goodbye to those at home

From 1861 to 1865, it was common news in American families, North and South: A loved one was going to fight. In the war's opening days, many men eagerly rushed into military service. As the deadly reality of combat emerged in camp and on the battlefield, a sense of duty replaced the early enthusiasm for many; others went to fight because they were drafted. By war's end, almost 3 million men served in the Northern armies, and approximately 1 million fought for the South. More than 750,000 never returned home, and an estimated 500,000 came back wounded. The war reached into practically every home in America, and its impact often began with a letter such as this one, written by a Northern volunteer to his family.

New York, Sept. 1st, 1862

Dear Mother and Sisters:

I can no longer delay the task of communicating to you news which I fear you may regard as painful—a consideration which has hitherto deterred me from giving it. . . . I have accordingly entered the ranks—not rashly nor with the spirit of adventure, but with a cool head and under a strong sense of duty. No action of my life has been so well considered and deliberately taken.

My decision is, of course, irrevocable. I was sworn into the service of the United States on Saturday last as a private in the 9th Regiment, N.Y. Volunteers, now located at Fredericksburg, Va., in the Corps of General Burnside. The regiment was selected, 1st because it will take me at once where I can be useful; 2nd because its reputation for courage, based on actual test, assures me against being disgraced; 3rd because the class of men comprising it is much better than the average. . . .

It is not only desirable that our family should have a representative in the army, but where we are so well able to furnish one, it would be beyond endurance disgraceful . . . for young men living peacefully and selfishly at home, while the land is rent by fraction and threatened with ruin by violence. . . .

My course is marked out, and nothing mortal can alter it. Whatever may be your reflections do not conceive the idea that I am acting in haste to repent in leisure. I am both too old and have too much to sacrifice to take such a step merely from love of change.

In haste,
Ed K.W.

A FAMILY VISITED TROOPS IN camp on occasion (as shown on opposite page). A Northern washer woman attached to the Army of the Potomac (left) worked alongside her three children. As civilian employees of the U.S. Army, laundresses received food, fuel, housing, and medical services. A Confederate officer posed for a family photograph with his wife and daughter (below).

"They Met Death Coolly, Bravely"

Black troops took up arms for the North

Black Americans were among the first to volunteer for military service in the Civil War and were unwelcome—at least initially—by both governments.

In New Orleans when the Louisiana governor called for volunteers for the Confederate Army in 1861, more than 1,100 African-American freedmen responded and formed the 1st Native Louisiana Guard. The state, however, declined to provide the outfit with arms and equipment, and when the freedmen went ahead and got their own, the state legislature passed a law prohibiting Black regiments. The Native Guard was disbanded, then reformed after Federal troops captured and occupied New Orleans in 1862—this time to fight for the Union. Confederate officials still remained uninterested in fielding Black troops.

The Union was only slightly more enthusiastic. President Lincoln was initially reluctant to allow African-Americans to serve in the Federal armies, fearing it would offend border state slaveholders who were loyal to the Union. Eventually, he changed his mind, and in 1863,

THE 54TH MASSACHUSETTS INFANTRY (top left) was the first Northern regiment of Black troops; the unit became famous for its assault on Battery Wagner, on Morris Island, South Carolina, in 1863. A slave known as "Marlboro" (top right) accompanied Major Raleigh S. Camp to war with the 40th Georgia Infantry. An unidentified young recruit (above) in the 103rd Regiment of the U.S. Colored Troops. Untold numbers of "body servants" and other slaves accompanied affluent Southerners to war: Silas Chandler (near left) a family slave, was photographed with Sergeant A.M. Chandler of the 44th Mississippi Infantry.

the U.S. Army aggressively began recruiting Black Americans into a segregated force that was officially known as the U.S. Colored Troops. They were organized into 166 Black regiments, including 13 artillery regiments, 7 cavalry regiments, a regiment of engineers, and 145 infantry regiments.

Brave Company

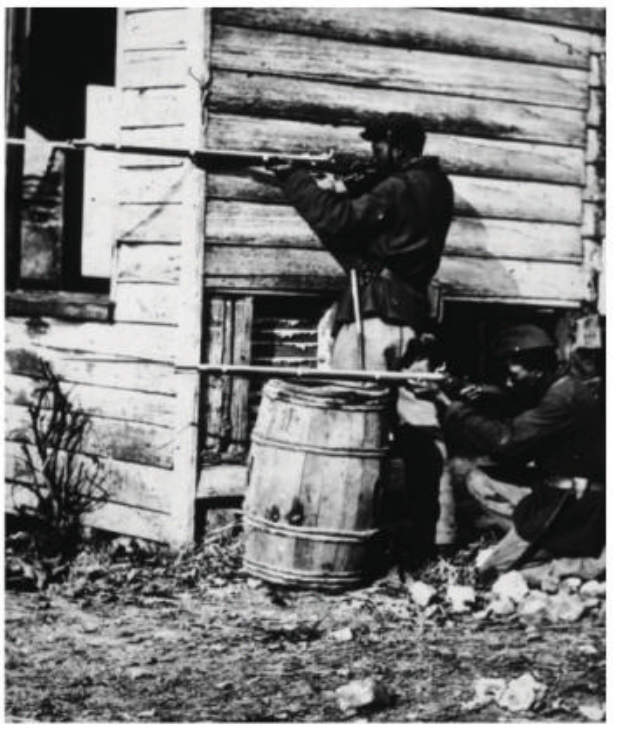
By regulation, Northern Black troops were led by white officers, and for much of the war they received less than half the pay issued to white soldiers. Many Union commanders questioned Blacks' ability to participate in combat and used them mainly to clear brush or as backup reserves.

When they were placed in battle, however, African-American troops quickly proved themselves. "I never saw a braver company of men in my life," reported Captain M.M. Miller, who commanded U.S. Colored Troops at the Battle of Milliken's Bend in 1863. "They met death coolly, bravely," he stated. "All were steady and obedient to orders." Black troops in the Federal army and Black landsmen in the U.S. Navy made significant contributions to the eventual Northern victory, and more than 20 African-American soldiers were awarded the U.S. Congressional Medal of Honor.

Confederates Finally Open the Ranks

Not until 1863, when the war was bleeding away Southern manpower, did the Confederacy begin to consider recruiting Black troops into the ranks. A group of Confederate officers informally made the suggestion, but it was ignored. The idea was officially proposed, then shot down by the congress in 1864. Finally, in March 1865, under pressure from General Robert E. Lee, Confederate lawmakers authorized the organization of 300,000 freed slaves into Southern military service.

"It is however of primary importance," Lee advised, "that . . . they should be so treated as to feel that their obligations are those of any other soldier. . . . Harshness and contemptuous or offensive language or conduct toward them must be forbidden." In Richmond, African-American recruits began drilling for service. However, the South's effort came too late. The war ended before Black Confederate regiments could be fielded in combat. ■



JACKSON (OPPOSITE, TOP) was a drummer in the 79th U.S. Colored Troops. Black soldiers of the 1st U.S. Colored Troops assembled for drill (opposite, bottom); all of the North's Black regiments were commanded by white officers. By 1865, more than 90,000 Black Americans were serving in the Northern army. Top row, from left: An unidentified soldier, sailor in the U.S. Navy, and rifleman. Soldiers of the 107th U.S. Colored Troops (above) were recruited in Federal-occupied Kentucky and served in North Carolina and Virginia. A soldier posed with his family (left).

"No Two Keep the Same Step"

Johnny Reb and Billy Yank learned the ways of war

Patriotic zeal blinded most of the volunteers to the realities and hardships they were signing up for, and once in camp, the soldiers faced duties that were often more boring than demanding. There were mind-numbing stints of guard duty, repetitious chores, and seemingly endless hours of drill.

But the exercises were vital for training both officers and the rank and file, the vast majority of whom were volunteers with no experience in the military. For most, their initial performance on the field ranged from comical to deplorable. "Totally undisciplined and undrilled, no two of these men marched abreast," a volunteer officer later recalled. "No two kept the same step; no two wore the same colored coats or trousers." Relief, when it came, was restricted largely to music, cards, and the arrival of newspapers or mail from home.

All Men Are Expected to Be in Line

In both the Confederate and Federal armies, the three major branches were infantry, artillery, and cavalry—

with most troops serving in the infantry. Some soldiers served in support branches, such as the signal corps, quartermaster department, or engineer corps. All had to adjust to a daily camp routine.

"At daylight in the morning the chief bugler of the regiment sounds the assembly and all the men are expected to be in line to answer to roll call," a Northern cavalryman wrote his sister. "Then another call & we feed & clean horses & get breakfast. At seven comes sick call. At eight comes guard. At noon there is another roll call. At four o'clock, water & feed call again. At sunset dress parade & roll call . . . and at eight o'clock in the evening another flourish of bugles sounds lights out."

Whenever they were ordered to break camp, infantry troops moved by foot, often traveling on dust-choked roads, in downpours, or through numbing snow and sleet. "It was so dreadful Hot that nobody hardly could Stand it," a Federal drummer wrote home. "I was sunstruck . . . but I got over it." A Southern private wearied from time on the march in debilitating weather simply penned, "May the Good Lord take care of the poor soldiers."

Eventually, the enlisted made the transition from civilian to soldier: By war's end, 750,000 to 1 million Southerners had served in the Confederate armed forces, and almost 3 million Northerners had worn their country's uniform. ■

TENTS AND PINE SHELTERS (opposite) added a degree of comfort to this Confederate camp. Federal army camp cooks worked at a camp in Virginia (below).

WITNESS TO WAR

Handling Military Discipline

The rigor of the soldier's life was a difficult adjustment for some enlistees

Military discipline was a new and unusual experience for most Civil War soldiers. Many took to soldiering readily, but others resented authority and—especially at the beginning of the war—did not hesitate to argue with their officers. Most eventually acquired a passable martial bearing. Some, however, had difficulty submitting to authority, as revealed in a diary entry recorded by Private Edward Burgess of South Carolina:

> *Quarreled with Capt about breakfast. Said if I got none it would be my fault. Replied it would be his fault, that he never troubled himself to see that the men were properly provided [for]. On inspection said my rifle was dirty. Replied it was clean, having cleaned it three days ago and had not used it since. Gave me an hour to clean it in. replied I would think of it and laughed at him. ordered Lieut to report me. I finally went to him for things to clean it if the State furnished. Said it did not. Would lend me an oiled rag. I did not borrow. However I soaped over the rust and carried it to him. said rifle was in first rate order. I replied that it was no cleaner than before, only soaped over. Went off laughing at him.*

NORTHERN SOLDIERS AWAITED THEIR turn on a camp rifle range (opposite, top). The most common weapon used by both sides was a rifle musket fitted with a bayonet, an improvement over earlier muzzle-loading muskets; federal troops (opposite, middle) drilled outside their camp during winter; federal troops during a training drill (opposite, bottom). Southern soldiers whiled away some rare free time at a camp in Florida (top); a Northern army farrier prepared to shoe an officer's mount (above). In Northern and Southern armies alike, camp chores were endless.

APPORTIONING RATIONS

The standard biweekly ration for Federal troops consisted of 16 ounces of salted beef or 12 ounces of pork, 22 ounces of biscuit, and 8 quarts of beans, along with coffee, sugar, and vinegar. They also ate hardtack, made from flour and water, which looks like a cracker and keeps well. Official Confederate rations were similar, but grew increasingly rare in the war-stressed South, leaving Confederate troops to feed themselves by foraging. Common Confederate fare was "sloosh"—cornmeal fried in bacon grease.

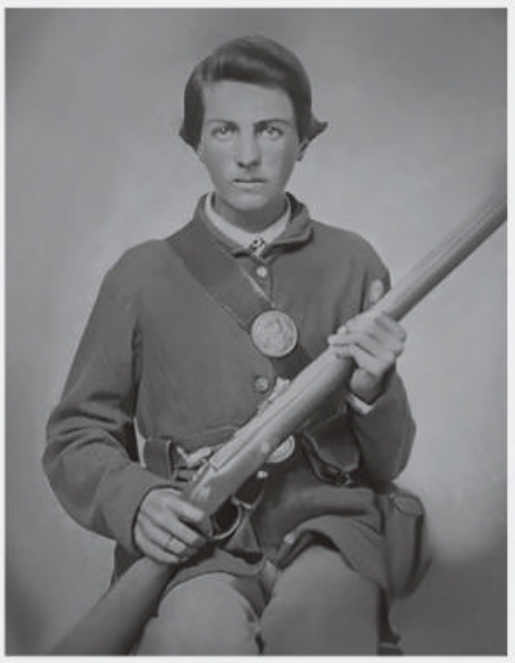
Disease: the War's Most Lethal Enemy

Camp illnesses took many more lives than battlefield deaths

More Civil War soldiers died of illness than bullets. In the confined conditions of the huge camps of the era, contagious diseases spread quickly, especially among the ranks of men from rural areas who had never been exposed to urban illnesses.

The biggest killer was dysentery, which was often caused by inadequate camp hygiene, contaminated drinking water, or poor diet. Other ailments also proved lethal, including measles, pneumonia, typhoid fever, typhus, smallpox, tuberculosis, and a mysterious ailment known only as "the fever," which was later discovered to be mosquito-borne malaria. Most of the war's military operations were in the South, where insect populations were ferocious. "[Of] all the nights I ever spent in the neighborhood of museketoes, last night was the worst," wrote a soldier posted to the coast of North Carolina. "No sleep visited my weary eyes until very late." ■

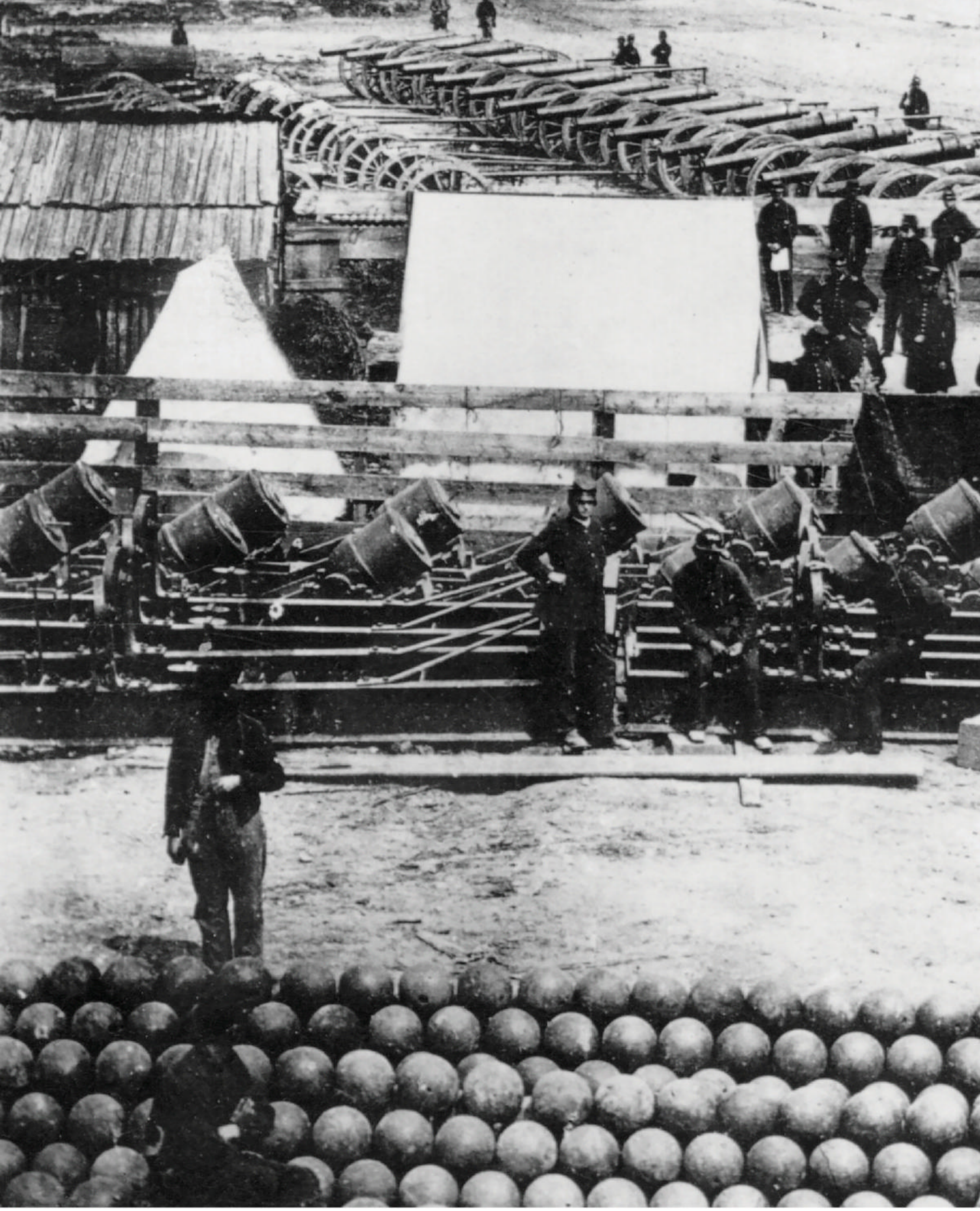
IN CLOSE-QUARTERED CAMPS, SUCH as this one (opposite) occupied by the 1st U.S. Cavalry, contagious illnesses spread quickly, causing staggering loss of life among troops on both sides. The situation was exacerbated by physicians, who did not have the knowledge or therapies to treat so many at once. A Federal burial detail (top) prepared to inter soldiers at a wartime camp near Washington, D.C. Outside a post chapel in Virginia (above), fresh graves swelled the size of a soldier cemetery.

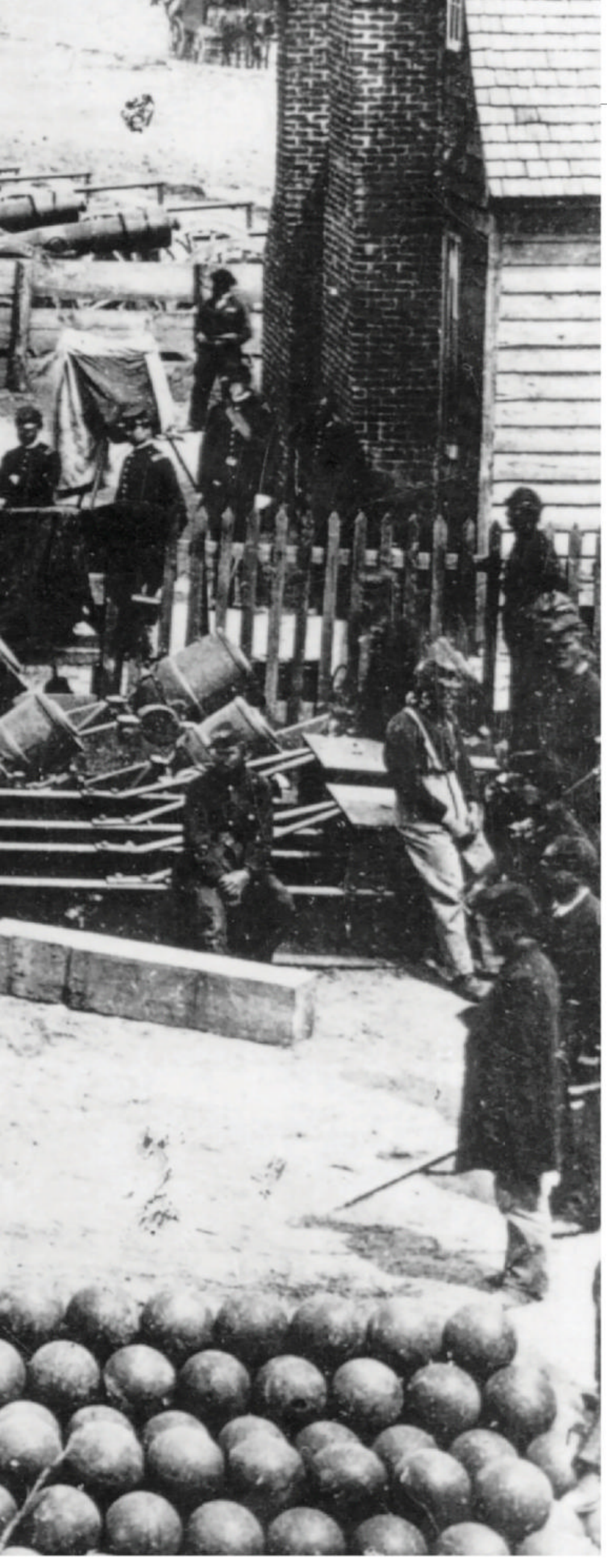


"There Is But Six Now Able for Duty"

Personal accounts of the horror

Continuous exposure to severe weather and the stress of life in the field also took a toll. Above, a 17-year-old soldier, weighing only 90 pounds and known only as S. Wires, was discharged with typhoid fever—or what many soldiers referred to as "camp fever." Wires was in the service for just 100 days, and this photo was taken three weeks after he had returned from the front. A Texas cavalryman wrote home: "Hugh has got the measles. He has a very bad cold and cough. . . . We carried two from our mess today. There was twelve of us at first. There is but six now able for duty. Four has the measles, one has the chills, one the typhoid newmonia. . . . None of our boys have died yet as I have heard of." Lewis E. Parsons, who served as a private in the Washington Artillery of New Orleans, related similar tales to his family. In his letter of May 17, 1864, Parsons wrote: "I am still having chills and am very weak." The deaths of thousands of soldiers from such illness were undignified and horrible,contradicting the image of the noble soldier. Many went into battle exhausted and in pain. If they were wounded, they often died due to their poor constitutional state. The total reported sick cases for all disease was more than 5.8 million.





Technology Reshapes the Battlefield

Modern weaponry made killing far more efficient

An old soldier would later observe that war was composed of long periods of absolute boredom, interrupted by brief interludes of sheer terror. For many shot dead on the field, their first battle was their last. Survivors, however, could boast that they had "seen the elephant," comparing combat to seeing the highlight of the circus. "The ball was opened," they would say afterward.

Exposure to the horrors of combat could produce a range of emotions: anxiety, fear, excitement, anger, shock, depression, relief, and—for many—even pity for the enemy. "I thought it would do one some good to see dead federals," wrote a Confederate soldier after his first battle. "But I had not seen many until the sight became sickening. I gave my canteen of water to a Federal soldier who was badly wounded and felt glad I was able to relieve him."

The Civil War was fought on the opening edge of the Industrial Revolution, and technology had made weaponry much more efficient at killing. Shorter-range smoothbore muskets were being replaced by much more accurate, longer-range rifles, and similar advances also revolutionized artillery.

Yet the common battlefield tactics of the day lagged behind weaponry. In many ways, the Civil War was a 19th-century war fought with 18th-century tactics against 20th-century firearms. Almost 21,000 troops were killed or wounded in a single day at the Battle of Antietam. More than 35,000 were killed or wounded in the three-day Battle of Gettysburg. In eight minutes at the Battle of Cold Harbor, an estimated 7,000 Northern troops were killed or wounded. Such shocking losses made the Civil War—for Americans—the bloodiest war in history. A Confederate general observed, "It wasn't war; it was murder." ■

STOCKS OF FIELD ARTILLERY, siege mortars, and ordnance were amassed at riverside for Federal forces invading Virginia. Large numbers of soldiers made an easy target, resulting in mass casualties as forces faced off.

"There Is No End to These Horrors"

Civil War medicine offered little hope to the wounded, but doctors and nurses strove to improve standards and save lives

In 1865, 18-year-old Robley Evans, a Northern seaman, was shot through both knees at the Battle of Fort Fisher while making a ground assault with a brigade of naval volunteers. Days later, the ensign found himself in a Federal military hospital facing a drunken surgeon who insisted Evans undergo a double amputation of his legs. After being told that he had no choice, the young sailor reached under his pillow and produced a loaded Colt revolver. "I told him that there were six loads in it," Evans recalled, "and that if he or anyone else entered my door with anything that looked like a case of instruments, I mean to begin shooting."

Evans kept his legs and later recovered. His case was unique: Most soldiers who faced amputations died soon afterward. The state of medical care during the Civil War was enough to make wounded men like Evans resort to desperate measures.

Many doctors and nurses worked heroically to save lives during the war, but they were hampered by the crude state of medical care in the mid-19th century. Effective technologies for treating infectious diseases and trauma injuries did not exist, nor did safeguard practices such as the sterilization of instruments. Records show, for example, that one New Hampshire soldier was shot in the shoulder at the Battle of Cedar Creek and received no medical treatment for more than 12 hours. When he finally saw

an army surgeon in a field hospital, the doctor jammed a bloody finger in the soldier's entry wound, then poked another bloody finger in the exit wound. When his two fingers touched, the doctor declared his patient fit and sent him on his way.

Of course not all wounded men received such treatment, and in spite of difficult conditions, medical personnel advanced the standards of the day and provided care on an unprecedented scale. The Confederacy constructed the largest hospital at the time, the Chimborazo Hospital in Richmond, which treated 76,000 patients in 150 buildings. The Federal hospital at City Point in Virginia could handle 10,000 patients a day and boasted a steam laundry.

Still, the enormous casualties frequently left caregivers overwhelmed. "I have been busy all day," wrote a Southern nurse following a major battle, "and I can scarcely tell what I have been doing. I have not taken time even to eat, and certainly not time to sit down. . . . I was going round as usual this morning, washing the faces of the men, and had got half through with one before I found out that he was dead. . . . There is no end to these horrors."

A FEDERAL SURGEON (OPPOSITE) prepared to operate on a wounded soldier following the Battle of Gettysburg. A Northern surgeon (top) consulted a wounded soldier before an amputation. A double amputee (right); few soldiers survived amputations.

Women on Both Sides Stepped In to Care for Soldiers in Need

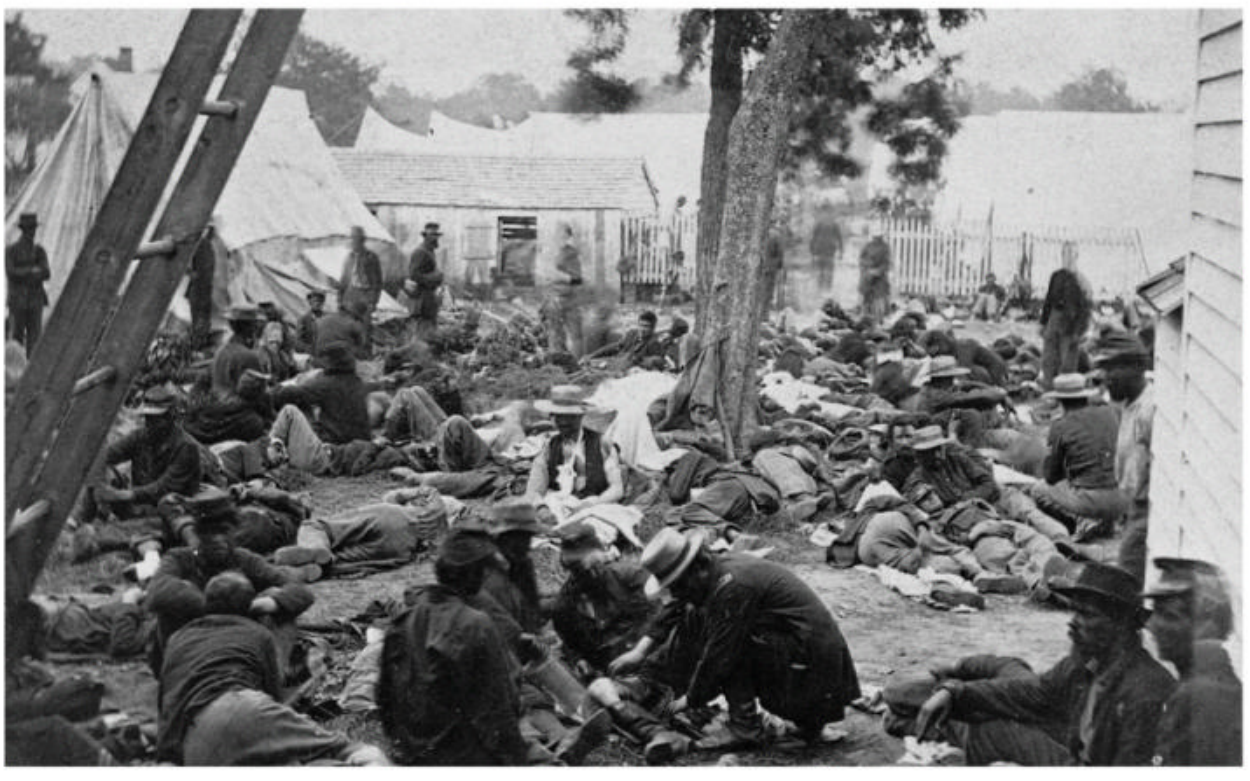
A legion of inspired nurses

"I saw for the first time what war meant," wrote Cornelia Hancock, a young Quaker nurse who volunteered to tend wounded soldiers following the Battle of Gettysburg. Hancock was one of approximately 5,000 nurses and attendants who ministered to the wounded and found herself pushing the boundaries of a woman's expected role.

"A woman must soar beyond the conventional modesty considered correct under different circumstances," pronounced Phoebe Yates Pember (above, in 1861), who became one of the Confederacy's best-known nurses.

Southerner Sally Tompkins so impressed the Confederate congress with her efforts that it commissioned her as an army captain. Leaders in the field for the North were Dorothea Dix, a middle-aged health-care reformer who was appointed by the U.S. surgeon general to oversee female nurses, and Clara Barton, an independent nurse whose work led to the establishment of the American Red Cross.

NURSES TENDED TROOPS at a Federal field hospital (top). Around 3,000 women served as nurses for the Union army. Medical personnel at Camp Letterman, in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania (middle). On both sides, troops who were seriously wounded or ill were moved from field hospitals to larger camp hospitals, such as the one above, in Washington, D.C. Opposite: Sick and wounded soldiers at Savage's Station in Virginia.



Among the Wounded

The U.S. Sanitary Commission, a volunteer organization, promoted improved care for Northern troops, but the work of comforting the sick and wounded fell to female nurses, many of whom were unprepared for what they would witness.

Alabaman Kate Cumming, who gained renown as a Southern nurse, vividly recorded the shock of her first encounter with a field hospital amputating table: "A stream of blood ran from the table into a tub in which was [an] arm . . . and the hand, which but a short time before grasped the musket . . . was hanging over the edge of the tub—a lifeless thing."

Northern nurse Cornelia Hancock recorded a similar horror in a makeshift Federal field hospital at Gettysburg: "Hundreds of desperately wounded men were stretched out on boards laid across the high-backed pews [of a church] as closely as they could be packed together. . . . Thus elevated, these poor sufferers' faces, white and drawn with pain, were almost on a level with my own. I seemed to stand breast-high in a sea of anguish." ■

A PIONEERING NURSE

A five-foot-tall dynamo from Massachusetts, **Clara Barton** was working as a clerk in the U.S. Patent Office when the war broke out. She soon earned the nickname "Angel of the Battlefield" for her nursing work and for a massive soldier-relief effort she spearheaded. After the war, Barton traveled to Europe, where she learned about the International Red Cross, which called for international agreements to protect and care for the wounded during wartime. On her return to the U.S., and with the help of friends such as **Frederick Douglass,** she established the American Red Cross.

WITNESS TO WAR

The Reality of the Battlefield

Romanticized views of war were quickly shattered in the face of real-life combat conditions

Mid-19th century Americans commonly held a romanticized image of warfare, popularized by novelists like Sir Walter Scott. They imagined great ranks of uniformed young men emitting excited cheers as they dashed shoulder to shoulder toward the enemy line in an irrepressible charge. Such notions of glory quickly disappeared in the face of the horror and gore of combat. Private Sam Watkins, a Southern soldier, recorded an account of a Confederate assault during the 1864 Battle of Atlanta:

We rushed forward up the steep hillsides, the seething fire from ten thousand muskets and small arms, and forty pieces of cannon hurled right into our very faces . . . piling the ground with our dead and wounded almost in heaps. It seemed that the hot flames of hell were turned loose in all their fury. . . . The continued roar of battle sounded like unbottled thunder. Blood covered the ground, and the dense smoke filled our eyes, and ears, and faces. The groans of the wounded and dying rose above the thunder of battle. . . .

I was shot in the ankle and on the heel of my foot. I crawled into [the enemy's] abandoned ditch, which then seemed full and running over with our wounded soldiers. . . .

While I was sitting here, a cannon ball came tearing down the works, cutting a soldier's head off, splattering his brains all over my face and bosom, and mangling and tearing four to five others to shreds. . . . It was the picture of a real battlefield. Blood had gathered in pools, and in some instances had made streams of blood. 'Twas a picture of carnage and death.

Haupt-Quartier
No. 344 Nord 3te Str., zw. Callowhill u. Vine,
Deutschen Feld-
Regiments
Col. Henry Bohlen.

Dieses Regiment ist von der Ver. Staaten Regierung anerkannt.

Ein Handgeld von $1
ist einem jeden Mann zugesichert.
Für Volunteers aber, die schon 3 Monate gedient haben,
1 Dollar 50 Cents,
das sofort nach der Einschreibung ausbezahlt wird.
Col. Henry Bohlen.
Major H. Matzdorf.

Immigrants in the Ranks

Diverse volunteers

As new arrivals in America, immigrants responded enthusiastically to the call to take arms. German immigrants, who had fled their homeland following the failed Revolution of 1848, were especially eager to serve in what they saw as a struggle against the forces of aristocracy and slavery. "It isn't a war where two powers fight to win a piece of land," one German enlistee wrote to his family. "Instead it's about freedom."

PRIVATE SAMUEL "SAM" WATKINS OF Company H, 1st Tennessee infantry (opposite, top) wrote excellent accounts of battles in his memoir *Company Aytch*. In this romanticized 19th-century artwork (opposite, bottom), row upon row of soldiers advanced in lockstep motion. Confederate dead piled following the 1862 Siege of Corinth (top). During the fighting at Sunken Lane in Fredericksburg, Virginia, Northern troops suffered terrible losses (above).

UNITED STATES
CHRISTIAN
COMMISSIO

Turning to God

Expressions of faith became common in camps as military leaders encouraged worship in the North and the South

As combat wore on, religion came to play an increasing role in soldiers' lives, and Biblical faith was openly expressed in the ranks on both sides. In a single year, the U.S. Christian Commission distributed more than a half-million Bibles to Northern troops.

Commanders routinely mentioned God in official reports, and many publicly shared their faith. General Oliver O. Howard, for instance, often preached on Sundays to his Northern soldiers, and Flag Officer Andrew Foote led worship services for Northern sailors aboard ship.

We Also Have Prayer Meetings Every Night

When Federal forces under his command achieved a victory in 1865, Major General E.R.S. Canby issued an official proclamation urging his troops to set aside the upcoming Sunday as a day of thanksgiving. Prayer meetings, Bible studies, Sunday schools, evening worship services, and baptism services became commonplace. "We have preaching twice every Sunday," a Southern soldier wrote home. "We also have prayer meeting every night."

General Stonewall Jackson personally handed out gospel tracts in camp. General Robert E. Lee issued orders excusing Jewish troops from Saturday duty so they could participate in Sabbath worship, and he officially called for periods of prayer and fasting in his army. Said Lee: "I am nothing but a poor sinner, trusting in Christ alone for salvation."

An Impromptu Blue and Gray Choir

Huge revivals swept through the Southern armies in 1862 through 1864, sometimes drawing open-air crowds numbering in the thousands.

Although the wartime revivals were largely a Southern phenomenon, Northern and Southern soldiers were generally linked by a common faith. For instance, when Confederate soldiers gathered on a Virginia riverbank for a baptism at one point, Northern troops appeared on the opposite side to watch—then spontaneously joined the Southerners in a familiar hymn. When the impromptu blue and gray choir finished singing, troops on both riverbanks quietly returned to duty. ■

LED BY A CATHOLIC chaplain, Federal troops (above) attended mass in the field. Confederate Chaplain Robert B. Sutton (far left) ministered to soldiers in General Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia; Northern Chaplain Thomas Quinn (left, middle) served in the 1st Rhode Island Light Artillery; established by the YMCA, the U.S. Christian Commission (near left) distributed Bibles, gospel tracts, and songbooks to Northern troops.

Capture Is As Deadly As Combat

Prisoners of war faced starvation, exposure, and disease

For soldiers in the Civil War, becoming a prisoner of war could almost be as risky as entering combat. An estimated 56,000 troops died in captivity during the course of the war, about 26,000 Southerners and 30,000 Northerners. Illness—especially dysentery—killed the most prisoners, while many died from exposure and others starved.

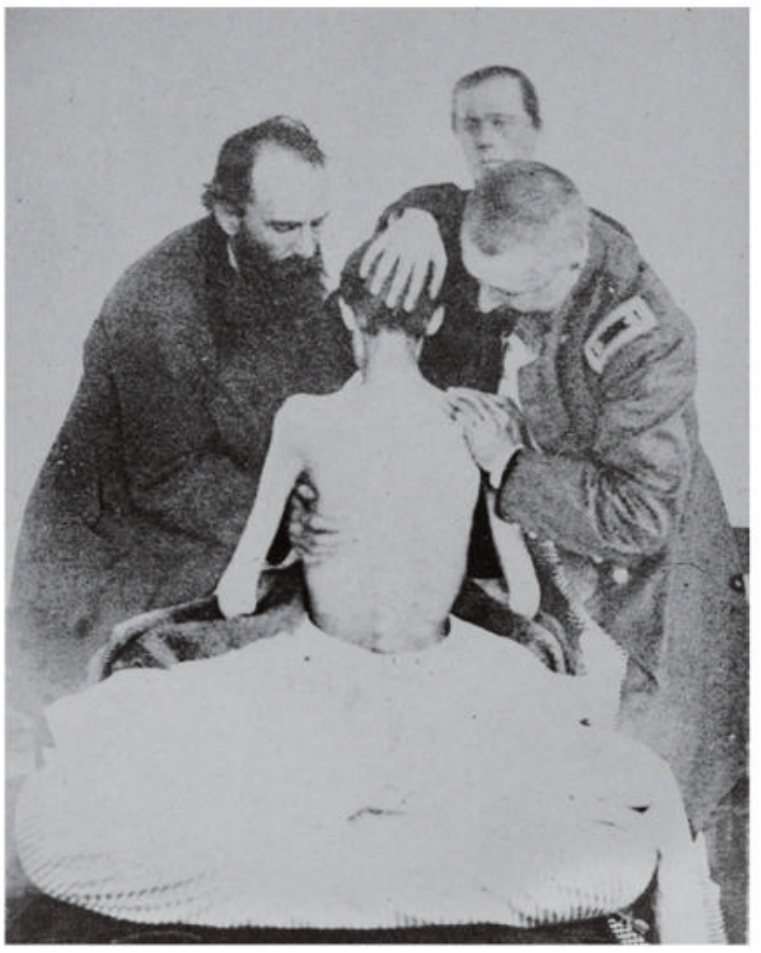
In the South, Confederate troops were often short on rations, and their prisoners of war fared even worse. "I recollect some half a dozen naked forms, out of which the likeness of human beings had been starved away," recalled a Union survivor of South Carolina's Florence Stockade. "[They were] groping around in prison without a shirt to their backs, with chattering teeth, their gaze idiotic, and their speech confused and incoherent."

News of the deadly conditions in Southern prison camps led the Lincoln administration to retaliate by reducing rations for Southern prisoners of war, causing increased suffering and death. "The poor fellows died rapidly, despondent, homesick, hungry and wretched," recounted one Southerner at New York's Elmira Prison. "I have stood day after day watching the wagons carrying the dead outside to be buried."

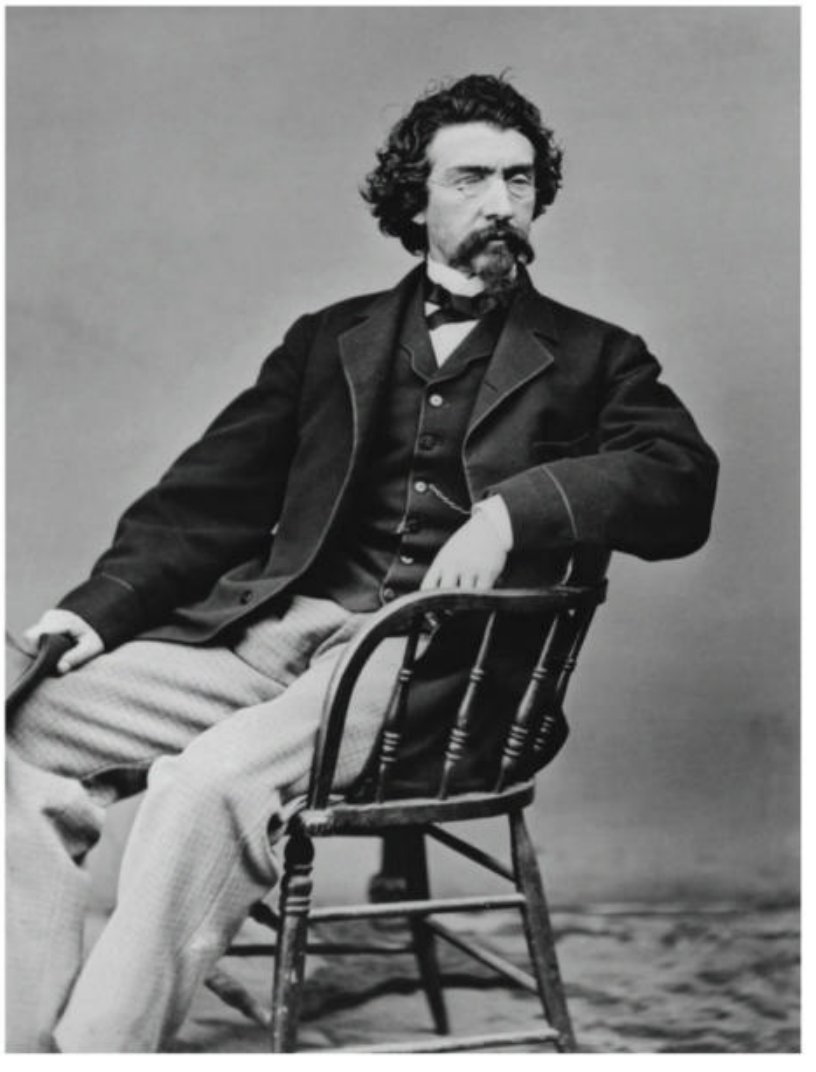
Conditions worsened on both sides in 1863, when Northern authorities halted prisoner exchanges in an attempt to cripple Southern manpower and to protest the Confederacy's refusal to recognize captured Black troops as POWs. When the exchanges stopped, the Confederacy was overwhelmed by the logistical challenge of feeding a larger prison population. At the Salisbury Prison in North Carolina, where prisoner deaths had once been rare, more than 3,000 Northern POWs perished over the course of a year. Other prisons also recorded grievous death rates. ■

WHO WERE THE SUTLERS?

Sutlers, merchants authorized to trade with soldiers, were a fixture on Northern army posts, at naval stations, and in camp and field. They were both loved and hated by the troops. While the men were glad to obtain tobacco, toothbrushes, postage stamps, newspapers, and food such as molasses and canned meat, they despised the inflated prices the sutlers charged. Sutlers' stores outside military camps were sometimes open to civilian travelers and offered gambling, alcohol, and prostitution.



NORTHERN GUARDS (OPPOSITE) assembled at Indiana's Camp Morton, where more than 1,700 Southern prisoners of war died of illness and exposure. The day's dead were buried in a trench at Georgia's Camp Sumter (top), also known as Andersonville Prison; it was the deadliest of all the Civil War POW camps. A Northern soldier (left), newly released from captivity by the Confederates, was examined by U.S. Army doctors. The Andersonville Prison (above).



Civil War Photography

New technology changed the way we see and understand combat

"I had the chance to go to town yesterday evening to have my picture taken," a Southern soldier wrote his wife in 1861. "I am going to send it to you."

Photography was a new and popular technology in the mid-19th century, and the Civil War became the first conflict in history to be thoroughly recorded by the camera. Photographic field equipment was expensive and bulky and had to be transported by wagon. When a photograph was made, any movement would cause the image to blur, so capturing battlefield action was almost impossible. Even so, a handful of enterprising photographers took their cameras to the field and masterfully recorded pictures of armies, fortifications, troops, artillery, and other stationary subjects.

Thousands of images were taken. Some photographers published theirs on inexpensive cardboard and sold them as "cartes de visite," which became immensely popular with the public. Others held public exhibitions of their photographs that included images of battlefield dead, leaving viewers both fascinated and shocked.

Brady & Co.

The most famous Civil War photographer was Mathew Brady, who had studios in New York City and Washington, D.C. Brady's reputation and his location in Washington gave him easy access to many of the war's leaders and to the battlefields in Virginia. He sent teams of staffers—at his own expense—to follow troops into battle, making them the first field photographers. Other important Northern photographers included Alexander Gardner, Timothy O'Sullivan, and George N. Barnard, who had all worked for Brady at some point.

Southerners Capture the War

In the South, photographic equipment and chemicals were hard to come by, but some regional photographers still managed to record activities in the camps, fields, and other sites. George S. Cook of South Carolina, a former Brady employee, settled in Charleston on the eve of the war and captured early images of Fort Sumter; later Cook drew fire from Federal warships while taking

A RESPECTED AND AWARD-winning photographer before the war, Mathew Brady (opposite) set out to document the conflict in pictures. Northern photographer Samuel A. Cooley and his assistants posed beside their camera and equipment wagon (top). Cooley accompanied Northern forces into the U.S. Army's Department of the South, which included South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. Mathew Brady (left photo, on far right) leaned against a pine tree, and observed Northern officers in a field conference.

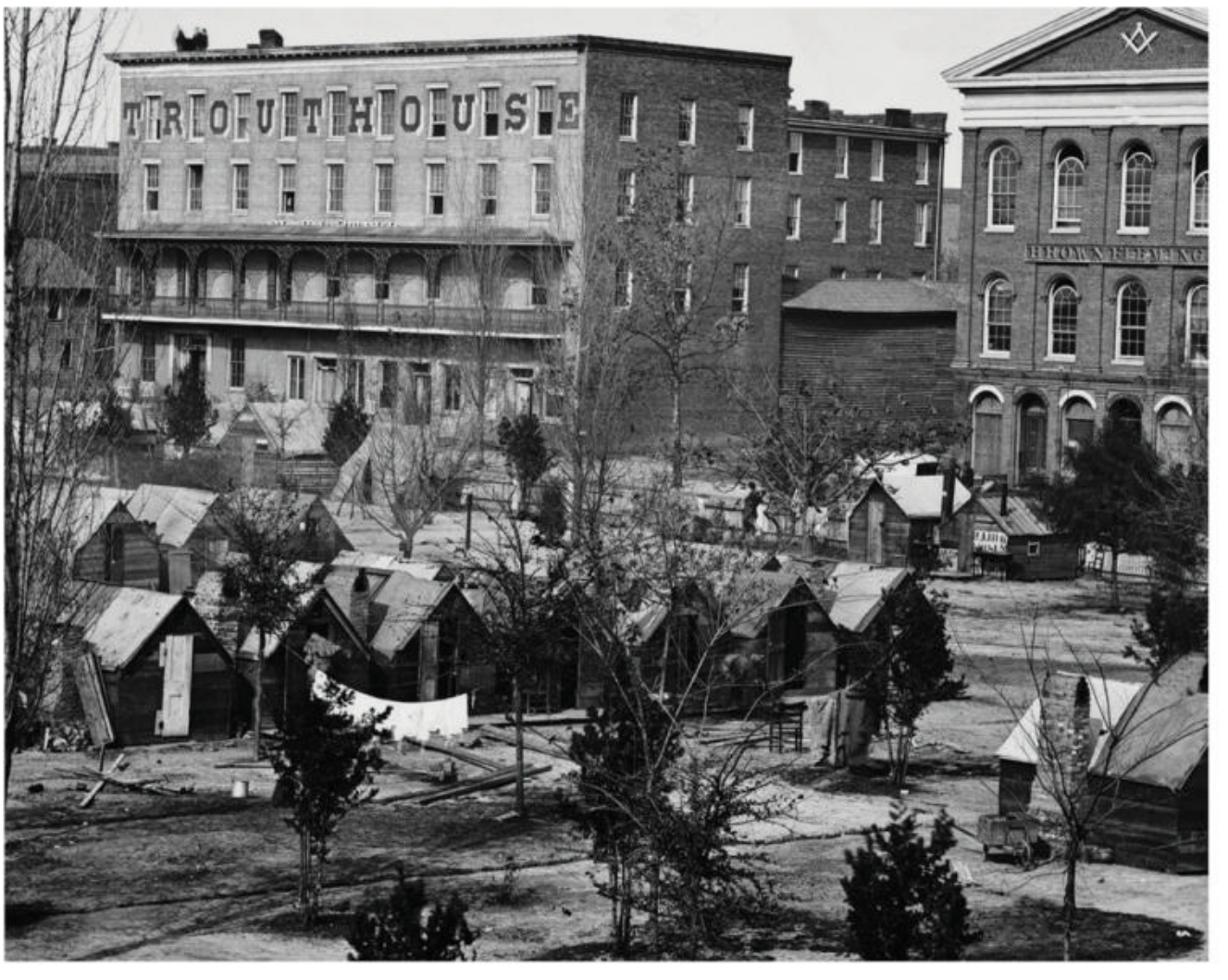
photographs of coastal fortifications. J.D. Edwards of New Orleans also took his camera into the field and recorded images of Southern troops, camps, and fortifications at Pensacola, Florida.

Recording the War, One Person at a Time

Meanwhile, portrait photographers created an equally important record of the Civil War by capturing countless individual soldiers and civilians across the country.

Loved ones at home wanted keepsake photographs of the menfolk going off to war, new recruits were eager to be photographed in uniform, and soldiers wanted images of sweethearts, wives, and children to carry with them into battle. Photographs were produced in a variety of formats—including the inexpensive cartes de visite, costlier tintypes, and pricey daguerreotypes or ambrotypes.

Quite small in size, daguerreotypes captured an image directly onto a polished silver-coated copper plate, giving it a mirrored appearance. To prevent tarnish, daguerreotypes were always stored in protective cases. Cheaper to produce were ambrotypes, which were printed onto emulsion-coated glass and required a painted or fabric background to frame the image. The small size of these early photographs made them ideal, portable keepsakes for soldiers.



PHOTOGRAPHER GEORGE N. BARNARD embedded with Northern forces in the field and recorded daily life in the army, such as these soldiers guarding an encampment (opposite, top). Timothy O'Sullivan (opposite, bottom), an apprentice of Mathew Brady's, joined Brady's team when the war started and later teamed up with Alexander Gardner's studio, which published his work. This page: The adventuresome George S. Cook took this image of Confederate artillerymen at their post near Charleston (top); Barnard was with General William T. Sherman's army when it captured Atlanta (above). He published these photos in *Photographic Views of Sherman's Campaign*.

MAKING BETTER PHOTOGRAPHS

Louis-Jacques-Mandé Daguerre, a French designer, painter, and inventor, became famous in the 1820s when he helped develop the diorama theater, in which painted scenery appeared to come to life through lighting. But today, Daguerre is best remembered for creating a more efficient method of developing photographs, known as daguerreotypes. At the time, the process could take multiple hours, but using Daguerre's solution of silver, mercury, and salt, a photographer could develop a daguerreotype in only 20 or 30 minutes.

A Rare Comfort in War Time

Having one's image captured by a photographer was seen as an important, serious event. The subject had to hold an unflinching pose to avoid blurring the image, and the powder flash that provided lighting could be startling—few smiles appeared in Civil War photographs.

For soldiers and civilians alike, however, having a picture of an absent loved one was worth the trouble and expense. "I look at your likeness and fear it is the last time I shall see you," a wife wrote her soldier husband in 1862. Their toddler, she reported, "will look at it and kiss it all the time." In camp and on the battlefield, the image of a familiar beloved could bring rare comfort. For some soldiers, looking at a photograph was a final act. "Splinters flew from fences and rocks," recalled a survivor of an enemy artillery barrage. "One young soldier was killed with the portrait of his sister in his hand." ■

INEXPENSIVE CARTES DE VISITE—prints on paper backed by cardboard—such as those shown here, were popular in both the North and the South, were easy to send by mail, and became collectibles. Due to the naval blockade of the Southern coast, photographs were costlier in the South, so there are fewer portraits of Confederate soldiers than of Union ones.

WITNESS TO WAR

"A Fearful Battle Began to Rage"

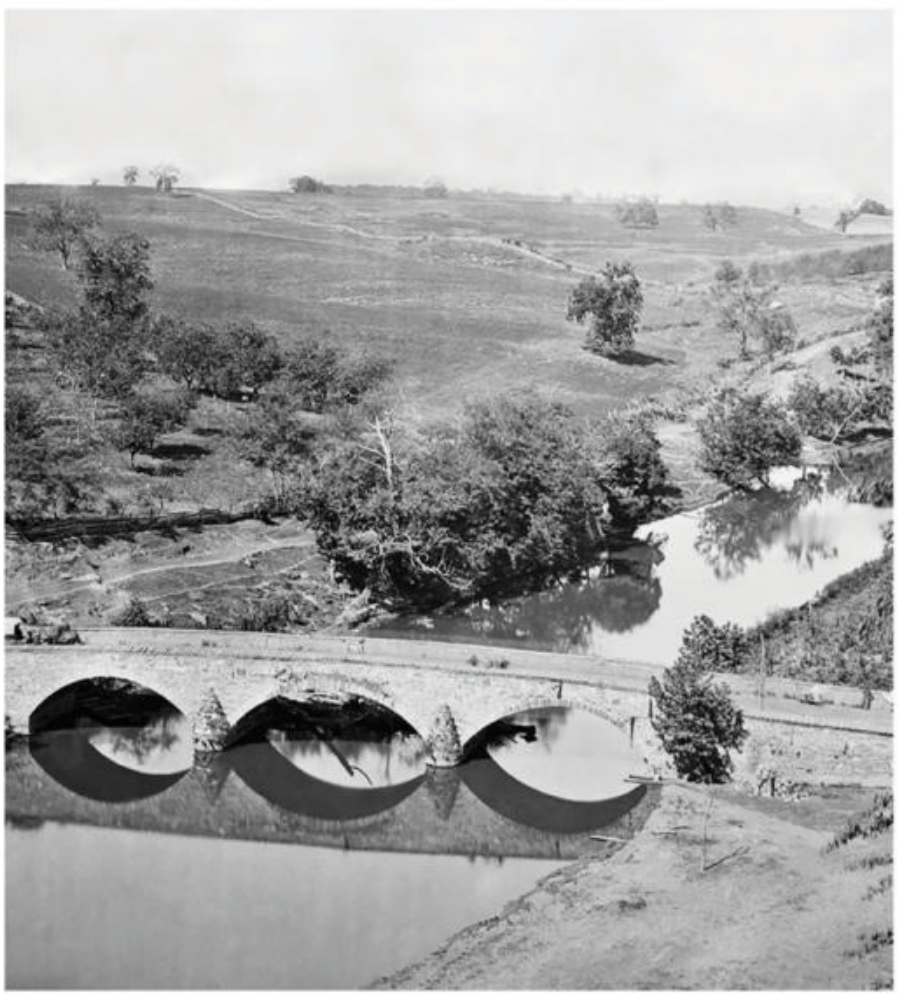
During the second year of the war, fighting raged in the West and East and soldiers described the carnage in wrenching terms

Private Ezra E. Stickley, a soldier in the 5th Virginia Infantry, was a mounted aide to Colonel Andrew J. Grigsby, a brigade commander in Lee's army at the Battle of Antietam, near Sharpsburg, Maryland, in September 1862. Posted to the battlefield's bloody West Woods, Private Stickley was an eyewitness to Antietam's ferocious fighting until he was severely wounded. His account:

Soon after sunup the fearful battle began to rage. We first moved our artillery (Poague's Battery) to the front of our line to open the ball, and did so with good effect, exchanging a few rounds and then retiring behind the line. The spectacle now presented was one of splendor and magnificence. As the enemy advanced we beheld one of the most brilliant displays of troops we had ever seen. The Federals in apparent double battle line were moving toward us at charge bayonets, common time, and the sunbeams falling on their well-polished guns and bayonets gave a glamour and a show at once fearful and entrancing. . . . Just before this serious happening the command came to the troops all along our line: "Forward! Charge bayonets! Common time! March!" The command was obeyed cheer fully and with vigor, the men charging and firing as they went. But at a short distance they were halted by the powerful battle lines in front. They met at reasonably close range, and a battle royal was on, which continued through most of the day of September 17, 1862. . . .

About this time the Rochester Artillery, Colonel Reynolds commanding, stationed diagonally across Antietam Creek from us, opened a terrific fire, fixing their aim on the center of our brigade, where they could see the staff horses. I was then in the act of mounting my horse, a fine animal I had captured at Harpers Ferry. The first shell fell about one hundred and fifty yards behind our line, the second about seventy-five yards in the rear of the line, doing no damage. The third shell struck and killed my horse and, bursting, blew him to pieces, knocked me down, of course, and tore off my right arm, except for enough flesh to hold its weight. Seeing my horse about to fall on me, I jumped up and went straight to the brigade line of battle, where I was caught by two of our men and thus prevented from falling. I was saturated with blood, my right side from the blood of my own person and my left from the blood of my horse. Now, it was clear why I had lost my glove: I had no right hand on which to wear it.

CONFEDERATE DEAD (LEFT) lay at their battle line alongside the Hagerstown Road at Antietam. This postwar lithograph (bottom far left) dramatically depicted Major General Ambrose E. Burnside's troops trying to cross Antietam Creek on what became known as "Burnside Bridge"; attempts by Northern troops to cross Antietam Creek were blocked by a small force of Southern riflemen (bottom center); a Federal burial detail took a break from its grim duty (below). At the end of fighting at Antietam, 3,650 Confederate soldiers had been killed and countless wounded.



IN THE SPRING OF 1863, MORALE among Northern troops had waned. Union fife and drum units were charged with boosting confidence.

WITNESS TO WAR

Sinking Morale

Despite higher numbers and better skills, Northern troops lost heart in the wake of their defeat at Chancellorsville, Virginia

As Lee's troops slipped out of their lines near Fredericksburg and headed northward, the 85,000-man Army of the Potomac was encamped just a few miles away on the other side of Virginia's Rappahannock River. The army was superbly equipped, and its battle-tested troops outnumbered Lee's forces—but many of its soldiers were demoralized by their recent defeat at Chancellorsville.

"We have got just enough men now to get licked," one observed, "especially if the officers get drunk every time." Some Northern soldiers had come to believe that a Southern victory was inevitable. Private John Sheahan of Maine shared that sentiment in a letter home.

Camp Near Bell Plain
March 2nd, 1863

My Dear father:

As I have got a few moments to spare I will improve them by writing you a few lines. . . . Does it look as tho' the war is going to end by next fall? I think not. The south are determined to have their Independence and they will have it. And no soldier in the Army of the Potomac doubts but what they will get it.

Some argue that they have not got the means to carry on the war. But how did we carry on a war with England the most powerful of European nations for seven long years? We were fighting for our independence and we were bound to have it cost what it may and we got it and so in my opinion will they. I should be exceedingly sorry to see our country divided and I do not think there is many more willing to do more for their country than I am, but I am almost inclined to think that we shall have to acknowledge their independence.

I must write Mary a letter so I will close this. . . .
[John]

WITNESS TO WAR

In the "Mule Shoe" at Spotsylvania

A Confederate soldier recounted the bravery and suffering of the foes he faced at one of the war's more gruesome battles

Nowhere was the horror of Civil War combat more evident than at the Battle of Spotsylvania, in Virginia. Private David E. Holt of the 16th Mississippi Infantry, a survivor of the fighting in the Mule Shoe Salient, later recorded a grim account excerpted here:

In one of the persistent charges of the enemy, the United States flag was held by a brave soldier on one side of our flag, and the state flag of New York was held by another gallant Yankee on the other side, the three waving together, but not for long. The men that held them were shot down, and the two flags of the enemy fell in the mud. Our flag bearer was shot down again and another man grabbed the flag and swung it aloft....

We could hear the screams of the wounded over all that infernal noise. They were trampled by their oncoming comrades. Often the dead lay on the wounded. When there would be any kind of a lull in the fighting, as when the Yanks reformed their line, there floated over to us the faint, pitiful cries of the wounded, and often a painful please of "Oh, for God's sake, take this dead man off of me!"...

It was still drizzling rain and a thin mist [hung] over everything. There lay the tree cut down by bullets and the bloody ditch and the many dead and wounded. One wounded man was cursing, another praying to the Blessed Virgin. Many were crying for water, some begging to have the dead taken off them. I don't expect to go to hell, but if I do, I am sure that Hell can't beat that terrible scene....

SOME OF THE WAR'S bloodiest hand-to-hand combat occurred at the Battle of Spotsylvania at a sector of Lee's line known as the Mule Shoe Salient. Amid a pounding rainstorm, soldiers trampled their own wounded beneath the mud, captured in the painting opposite. This page, from top: Northern grave-diggers buried the dead following the fighting at Spotsylvania Courthouse, Virginia; a dead Southern soldier.

CLASH AT YELLOW TAVERN

As the Battle of Spotsylvania Court House was unfolding, Federal cavalry under **Major General Philip Sheridan** (above) undertook a raid on Richmond. The operation was not so important—except for a clash at Yellow Tavern. There, on May 11, 1864, the famed Southern commander **Major General J.E.B. Stuart** was wounded. Before he died, Stuart noticed some men retreating, and he called to them: "Go back, go back, and do your duty, as I have done mine, and our country will be safe. Go back, go back! I had rather die than be whipped."

Section 3

A NATION TRANSFORMED

"Fervently do we pray—that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away."

—PRESIDENT ABRAHAM LINCOLN, SECOND INAUGURAL ADDRESS, MARCH 4, 1865

City of Atlanta in 1863 or 1864

Heartbreak and Sagging Morale in a Land of Plenty

Flush with cash, city dwellers lived the high life, packing cafés and burlesque shows. The lavish spending may have been an attempt to escape the agony of war

In the North's large cities, the wartime economic boom left many civilians momentarily flush with cash. City dwellers packed saloons, playhouses, billiard parlors, minstrel theaters, and burlesque shows. In Washington, D.C., elegant dinners, balls, and soirees became the rage, and the flood of men in uniform expanded the capital's brothel trade. In New York City, crowds lined up to attend P.T. Barnum's Grand Colossal Museum and Menagerie and swarmed Central Park for free band concerts.

"We have pushed our way downtown, dropping in at all the places of amusement," wrote a New York newspaper reporter, "and seeing them all jammed."

The economy was also boosted by tawdry wartime profiteering. Cotton confiscated from Southern planters could be bought in occupied areas for 20 cents a pound and sold in the North for a 500 percent markup. Unscrupulous manufacturers paid huge commissions to business brokers for wrangling government contracts. Crooked suppliers sold such poor-quality uniforms to the U.S. Army at the beginning of the war that the soldiers dubbed them "shoddies," and groused that they were fighting a rich-man's war. "Every foul bird comes abroad, and every dirty reptile rises up," Abraham Lincoln aptly observed about wartime profiteering.

The lavish spending may have reflected more than just flush times: For many, it was likely an attempt to escape the heartbreak of war. No amount of profit could insulate Northern families from the loss of more than 300,000 young men, struck down by shot, shell, and disease, a staggering loss of life that befell almost every Northern home.

Likewise, even as Northern forces won victory after victory in the Western Theater, the defeats and disappointments in the Eastern Theater—and the shocking loss of life in general—progressively deflated enthusiasm for the war. Not until late 1864, when Federal forces captured the Deep South rail center of Atlanta, did Northern morale rebound. ■

A NEW CAPITOL DOME rose over Washington, D.C., circa 1862 (above). Opposite, from top: In the North, city dwellers flocked to concerts, rallies, and other gatherings in places such as New York's Central Park; volunteers from the U.S. Sanitary Commission staged fairs in the North to raise funds for sick and wounded Union soldiers; P.T. Barnum's American Museum was popular in New York City. During the war, African-Americans were admitted to the museum for the first time.

METROPOLITAN FAIR.

EXCHAN
BARNUM'S MUSEUM

Women at War: Spies, Scouts, Soldiers, and Heroic Homemakers

Women on the home front bore the burden of war

With so many men away, women across the land found themselves with increased responsibilities and new challenges. They took charge of their families, ran farms, operated stores, and oversaw plantations. Thousands worked as nurses; thousands more volunteered in groups like the U.S. Sanitary Commission and in sewing societies, where they made soldiers' uniforms. Women went to work in factories, in treasury department offices, and even to war disguised as men: Northerner Sarah Emma Edmonds served in the 2nd Michigan Infantry, and Malinda Blalock masqueraded as a man to serve alongside her husband in the 26th North Carolina Infantry.

Untold numbers of women had wartime careers as spies and scouts. Former slave Harriet Tubman, famed for leading hundreds to freedom on the Underground Railroad, also served as a Northern spy in South Carolina and Georgia. Likewise, Union supporter Pauline Cushman served as a spy and scout in the war's Western Theater—sometimes in the uniform of a Confederate soldier—and after the war, she relived her experience on the stage for audiences in the North.

Few women espionage agents could surpass the successes of Rose O'Neal Greenhow, a well-connected Washington, D.C., socialite. Greenhow not only organized a spy network that significantly contributed to the Confederate victory at First Bull Run, but served five months in Washington's Old Capitol Prison for her role, along with her young daughter. After Greenhow was released, she returned to the South but drowned returning from a mission to Great Britain in 1864, when the blockade runner carrying her ran aground on the North Carolina coast.

ABIGAIL HOPPER (opposite, seated in the center) was a leader in providing medical care for Northern soldiers. Southern-born actress Pauline Cushman (left) spied for the North and narrowly escaped being hanged by Confederate authorities; Rose O'Neal Greenhow (below, right) used her position as a Washington, D.C., socialite to gather information for the Confederacy—until she was imprisoned with her daughter; Isabella "Belle" Boyd (below, left) was a spy for the South.

Spurning Soft Living

In many ways, the war was harder on women in the South than in the North. Serious food shortages were common. Basic necessities became unattainable. Business was suspended or destroyed. Education was interrupted. Daily life became a grueling ordeal. In Mobile, Atlanta, Richmond, and elsewhere, food riots occurred. Invading Northern armies destroyed the civilian infrastructure in many regions.

When Southern men departed to fight, their wives were left to guarantee their family's survival. To do so, they learned to improvise. They made draperies into dresses and uniforms and dyed them with boiled acorns or homegrown indigo. They resoled shoes with wood instead of leather, and produced candles from beeswax and rosin. They scraped the earth under old houses for salt and used lye, lime, and wood ashes to make soap. Rose Frye, a South Carolina homemaker, later recalled how she and other women in the South "spurned soft living":

The great difficulty lay in the fact that we had always looked to the North for everything, from a hair-pin to a shoestring, and from a candle to a cradle. The South was agricultural and not inventive . . . but with the war came a stoppage of all commercial intercourse between the two sections. The merchants' counters were quickly depleted.

I went through the war on four calico dresses. We borrowed of each other. We braided straw for hats, and twisted a gay ribbon around the crown. We stitched incessantly. What a precious thing a needle was in those days. We picked cotton, carded and twisted it, and spun the yarn and wove the fabric. . . .

My mother knit on average three pairs of socks per week for the boys in the field, whenever the material could be obtained. We spurned soft living [and] bore bravely every reverse of fortune. . . . We proved the truth of the old adage . . . that woman's ingenuity will surmount all obstacles.

WITH FURLOUGHS SHORT, SOLDIERS often couldn't travel home (opposite); when families could afford it, they would visit the men for extended periods. This page: With most of the male population at war, women were left to face the demands of the home front. After the armistice, many women were happy to return to their pre-war roles. However, the women's suffrage movement gained momentum and women's participation in the workforce increased in the decades that followed.

FIRST LADY OF THE CONFEDERACY

Confederate First Lady **Varina Howell Davis,** the daughter of a slave-owning Mississippi merchant, was educated in the North and married the widower **Jefferson Davis** in 1843, when she was 17 and he was 36. Their early years together were spent in Washington, D.C., where Davis served in various government positions before he became president of the Confederacy. As First Lady, Davis provoked controversy by questioning the South's ability to win the war. Even so, Southerners admired her intelligence, wit, and spirited personality.

Raids Prompt Fear for Frontier Civilians

With men away at war, pioneer families were vulnerable

Women and children living on the frontier during the Civil War faced a unique threat when the men of the family left for service: deadly raids by Native Americans.

Near-starvation conditions on Minnesota's Dakota reservation sparked an uprising in the summer of 1862, and Sioux raiders slaughtered numerous white farming families along the Minnesota River Valley. Thousands of civilians fled their homes, and several hundred Dakota and Sioux were also killed.

In Confederate Texas, the absence of men and frontier troops encouraged the Comanche to increase their assaults on isolated farms and ranches. A survivor of a typical attack recalled:

> *"We children had heard screams and war whoops and were running as fast as we could to the nearest hiding place. . . . Ma heard the commotion, saw the Indians and came running back toward the house, screaming, 'My babies! My babies!' But she never reached the house. Three Indian arrows brought her down dead a few feet from the front door."*

REFUGEES FROM THE 1862 DAKOTA WAR in Minnesota (opposite) rested under the protection of Northern troops. More than 500 Minnesota settlers and uncounted numbers of the Dakota tribe were killed. This page, top: In an attempt to reduce attacks on the frontier, the Lincoln administration brought Cheyenne and Kiowa leaders to the White House. This image, taken in the Executive Mansion conservatory, shows Lincoln's private secretary, John Geogre Nicolay, in the center rear. Above, from left: Confederate soldiers Private Thomas F. Bates of the 6th Texas Infantry and Private Simeon J. Crews, right, of the 7th Texas Cavalry.

AN IMPACTFUL LIFE

Northern author **Louisa May Alcott,** who would earn fame for her Civil War novel *Little Women*, about a group of strong, educated sisters, temporarily served as a nurse for the sick and wounded at a Washington, D.C., soldiers' hospital. While there, Alcott contracted typhoid fever, which would cause her health problems throughout the remainder of her life. In 1888, she died in Boston at age 56.

IN 1863, FOLLOWING THE BATTLE of Gettysburg, this photo was found clutched in the hand of a dead Northern soldier. Stories of the image sparked a search for the identities of the man and his children throughout the North. An illustration (opposite) shows Northern civilians lining up outside a newspaper office to read the latest war news.

THE FACES OF WAR

The Children of the Battlefield

A poignant photograph captivated the Northern home front

Midway through the war, the grief that flooded wartime America was personalized in the North by a single incident. As Federal burial details went about their grim chores after the Battle of Gettysburg, the body of a Northern soldier was found clutching an ambrotype of three small children. The soldier was unidentified, but he had been mortally wounded and seemed to have spent his dying moments gazing at a photograph of his children—two boys and a girl.

The image made its way to the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, which reported the sad story under the headline "Whose Father Was He?" The limited technology of the day prevented the newspaper from publishing the photograph, but the writer carefully described its details. Other newspapers picked up the story, and it became a sensation in the North, igniting a nationwide inquiry for the identity of the fallen father of the "Children of the Battlefield."

Finally, in November 1863, the search ended: The soldier was Sergeant Amos Humiston of Portville, New York, who had fought at Gettysburg in the 154th New York Infantry. The three "Children of the Battlefield" were his 8-year-old Frank, 4-year-old Frederick, and 6-year-old Alice. Sergeant Humiston's widow, Philinda, had not heard from him since before the Battle of Gettysburg, and learned of his death only when a neighbor read about the photograph.

The event inspired popular sheet music titled "The Children of the Battlefield," and proceeds from its sale were sent to the children and their widowed mother, who was given a job at an orphanage until she remarried. ■

A Wave of Looting, Burning, and Retaliation

Troops on both sides took aim at civilian targets

At times the war led soldiers and commanders to commit acts they would normally have denounced.

In May 1864, under orders from General Grant, an 18,000-man Northern army swept through Virginia's Shenandoah Valley, setting fire to military targets while plundering and burning private homes.

The raid sparked a vicious cycle of retaliation. A week later, Confederate troops burned Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, destroying more than 400 structures. Grant then sent an army of more than 40,000 troops to the Shenandoah with orders to "leave the Valley a barren waste." The troops did so, destroying virtually everything along a 90-mile-long line of march, including some 2,000 barns, private homes, and an estimated 3,000 sheep.

Removing the Citizens of Atlanta

One of the war's most controversial acts toward noncombatants followed the capture of Atlanta by General William T. Sherman's army in 1864. Sherman ordered a forced evacuation of the city's entire civilian population. City officials pleaded for mercy, but Sherman refused, stating, "War is cruelty and you cannot refine it."

People fled the city. "The scene around the depot for days previous to its final abandonment was heartrending in the extreme," reported a Northern newspaper correspondent. "Old age and tottering infancy huddled together, awaiting their chance of escape. They cast many a long and lingering look at their once-happy home, which they were now about to abandon, perhaps forever." ■

CONFEDERATE FORCES TORCHED Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, after the town's residents failed to raise $100,000 in gold (opposite). Chambersburg lay in ruins in 1864 (top). It was the only Northern town destroyed during the war. After General William T. Sherman captured Atlanta, he evacuated the city's civilian population. "You cannot qualify war in harsher terms than I will," Sherman said later. "War is cruelty and you cannot refine it." Northern troops tore up the Atlanta railroad station and removed train tracks (above).

WITNESS TO WAR

Hell on Earth

Columbia, South Carolina, burned at the hand of the Union Army

As they marched into Columbia on February 17, 1865, Sherman's soldiers sang a perverted version of the patriotic song "Hail, Columbia," which was regarded as one of a few unofficial national anthems at the time. The troops' revised lyrics: "Hail Columbia, happy land. If I don't burn you, I'll be damned." The torching of South Carolina's capital city became one of the greatest controversies of the Civil War. For residents of the city, the event was "hell on earth," as described by a Columbia survivor in a letter to her daughter.

Columbia, March 3, 1865

My Dear Gracia:

Doubtless your anxiety is very great to hear something about us after the great calamity that has befallen our town. We have lost everything, but thank God, our lives have been spared. Oh Gracia, what we have passed through no tongue can tell, it defies description! Such a scene as was witnessed on the day and night of 17 February. God grant that we may never see the like again!

The enemy entered the city about nine o'clock in the morning; passed our street about ten, and at dark were still passing. . . . The first thing they did was break open the stores and distribute the goods right and left. They found liquor and all became heartily drunk. The very elements seemed to conspire against us, for the wind blew a perfect gale. Bags of cotton were cut open in the streets and the wind carried it even into the trees. The streets looked as if they were covered with snow. When night came on, the soldiers went about with matches, turpentine and cotton, with which they fired the houses. It was a fearful sight, in whatever direction your eyes, they met the flaming fire. At one time I thought there was no way of escape left for us. . . . While I was getting some things out of a trunk there were three men in the room rifling another, but I felt no fear, tho alone. One Yankee was burned to death on our own lot. I can compare that night to nothing but hell on earth. . . .

We stayed all night in the street, protected by a Yankee captain from Iowa who was very kind to us. . . . We have two rooms on the first floor of the [Lutheran] seminary. What we are to do for clothes I know not, but God will provide. Rich and poor are drawing rations alike. There is not a house left on Marion Street. . . .

Your ever affectionate
Mother

COLUMBIA, SOUTH Carolina's once graceful capital (above) was gutted by Sherman's army. "Go home and rest assured that your city will be as safe in my hands as if you controlled it," Sherman had told the town's mayor. South Carolina's statehouse (left) was destroyed by Sherman's army in February 1865, but after the South surrendered, construction began on its replacement.

The 13th Amendment Ends Slavery

The ratification process took a year, and some states agreed only when forced by Congress

FOLLOWING THE RATIFICATION of the 13th Amendment, some former slaves were allowed to own their own land (top). This page: Though there were celebrations like the one in this artwork (top right), many former slaves lacked the resources to strike out on their own. Often, freed slaves found themselves doing the same work they had under the plantation system (above). Without food, shelter, or education, many freed slaves needed assistance from agencies such as the Relief of Freedom and Refugees (opposite, left).

"Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude . . . shall exist within the United States." So read the 13th Amendment to the United States Constitution, introduced in early 1864 by Missouri congressman John Henderson.

Turning the amendment into law was not easy. Southern Democrats, who believed the legality of slavery was up to the states, not Congress, sought to corral opposition in the legislature. President Lincoln and Secretary of State William Seward counter-maneuvered. Once the amendment was passed by Congress on January 31, 1865, it still had to be sent to state legislatures to be ratified. Three-quarters of the state bodies had to approve, which at the time added up to 27 states.

It took almost a full year for state legislatures to ratify the amendment, and some did so only under duress. While most Northern states supported ratification, those in the South resisted. Congress forced the issue by requiring the states to approve the 13th Amendment in order to be readmitted to the Union. Finally, on December 6, 1865, Georgia became the 27th state to do so. Slavery in the United States was officially outlawed. ■

Surrender at Appomattox

Lee, surrounded and severely outnumbered, yielded to Grant, who offered aid and mercy to the Confederate troops

It was Palm Sunday, April 9, 1865. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia, now skeletally thin with little more than 20,000 troops, was being pursued by Grant with an army five times that size. After beating back Northern cavalry near the community of Appomattox Court House in southwest Virginia, the Confederates resumed their retreat when they came to a phalanx of blue-uniformed Northern infantry.

Poised defiantly under red, unfurled battle standards, Lee's army steeled itself as the Federal troops prepared to make a death attack. Then a lone Confederate horseman emerged from the Southern lines, bearing a white flag. General Lee was ready to meet with General Grant.

That afternoon, the two commanders and their staff officers convened in the parlor of a two-story brick farmhouse near the courthouse at Appomattox. One of Lee's officers urged him not to surrender, but to turn the army lose in the Appalachian Mountains to wage guerrilla war. Lee would not hear of it: He and his army had fought honorably, and they would surrender honorably.

Compelled to Yield

Lee was immaculately uniformed; Grant was rumpled, "dusty and a little soiled" from being in the field, an officer noticed. The two had many common acquaintances—both had graduated from West Point, which Lee had once headed—and they had both served in the Mexican-American War. They briefly exchanged small talk, then Lee moved the conversation to the reason for their meeting.

Grant offered generous terms: Lee's troops could

go home—no prison camps. Officers could keep their sidearms, cavalrymen could keep their horses, and the half-starved Southerners would be issued rations by the Northern victors. Then it was done, and Lee slowly rode away. He issued General Order Number Nine to his troops: "After four years of arduous service marked by unsurpassed courage and fortitude, the Army of Northern Virginia has been compelled to yield to overwhelming numbers and resources. . . . I earnestly pray that a Merciful God will extend to you his blessing and protection."

When Northern artillery began firing celebratory salutes, Grant ordered it stopped. "We did not want to exult over their downfall," he later explained. From North Carolina to Texas, Southern commanders one by one followed Lee's example, and laid down arms. After four years of warfare, the fighting had finally ended. ■

LEE LED HIS DEPLETED ARMY in a retreat from Petersburg, hoping to regroup and continue to fight, but his march was blocked near Appomattox Court House, Virginia. There, on April 9, 1865, Lee surrendered to Grant, bringing an end to the Civil War (opposite). The generals met at the home of Wilmer McLean, a Virginia farmer who had moved from Manassas to escape the war (top). After the ceremony, Lee rode through his troops, who enveloped him, as shown in the sketch at right. Some wept. Others just silently removed their hats. "I love you just as well as ever, General Lee," one yelled.

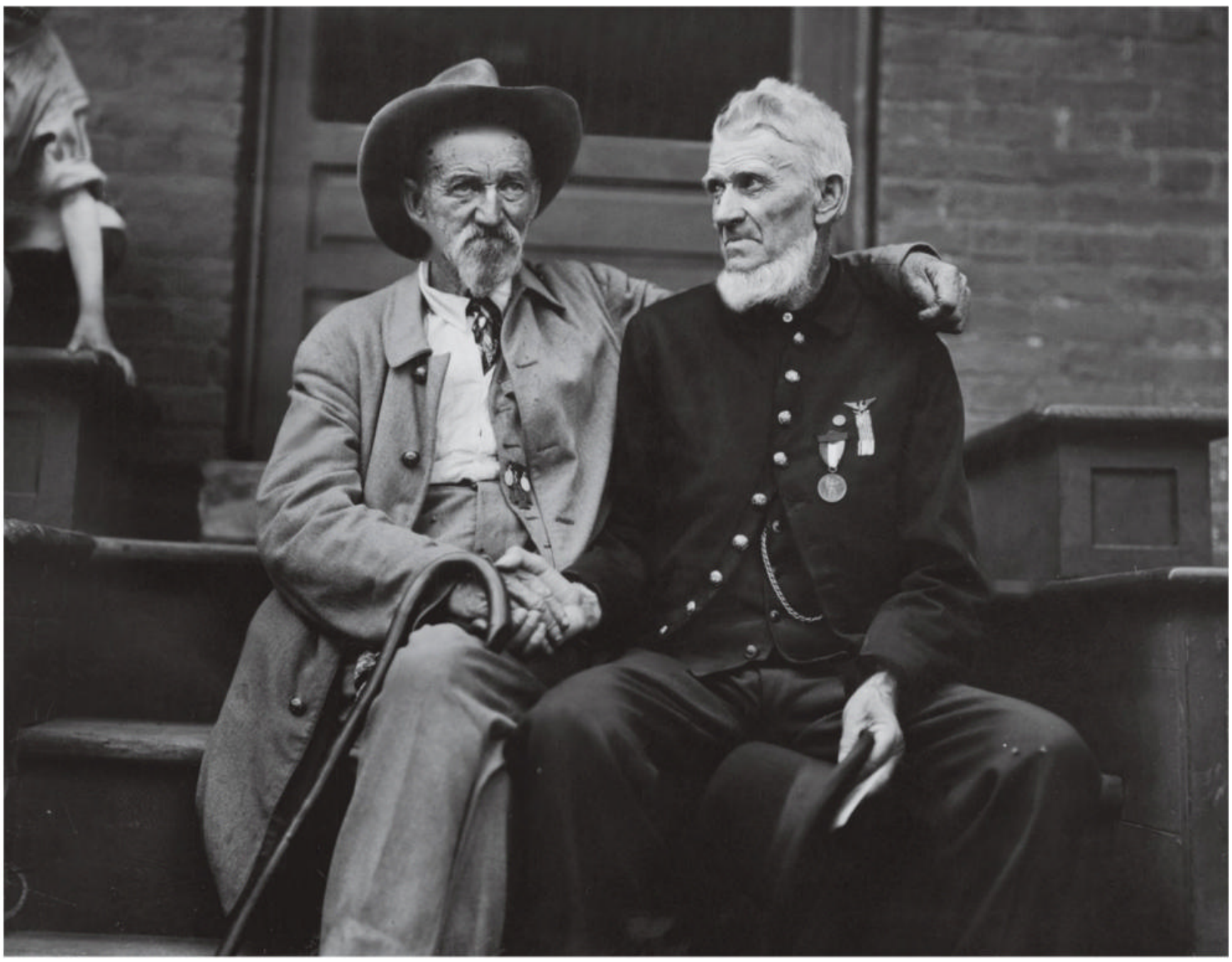
A Just and Lasting Peace

A fractured nation began to heal

At the end of the first day's fighting at Gettysburg, Lieutenant Colonel John R. Lane of North Carolina was hit in the back of the neck by a .58 caliber bullet. Lane went down, an eyewitness reported, "as limber as a rag" and presumably dead. The bullet was fired by a Northern soldier from Michigan—Corporal Charles McConnell—who would always remember how he steadied his rifle against a tree and shot down the tall Southern officer. Miraculously, Lane survived his wound and the war.

Decades later, the two former enemies were introduced at a postwar veterans' event. Although they had fought hard and done their best to kill each other in battle, Lane and McConnell became close friends. In 1903, on the 40th anniversary of Gettysburg, they made a joint appearance at ceremonies on the battlefield. As a crowd of several thousand applauded, McConnell told Lane, "I thank God I did not kill you."

Their experience was remarkable, but it was not unique. Despite four years of unprecedented bloodletting, the soldiers of the Civil War were Americans—and in the decades that followed the Civil War, they led the nation in an extraordinary healing process.



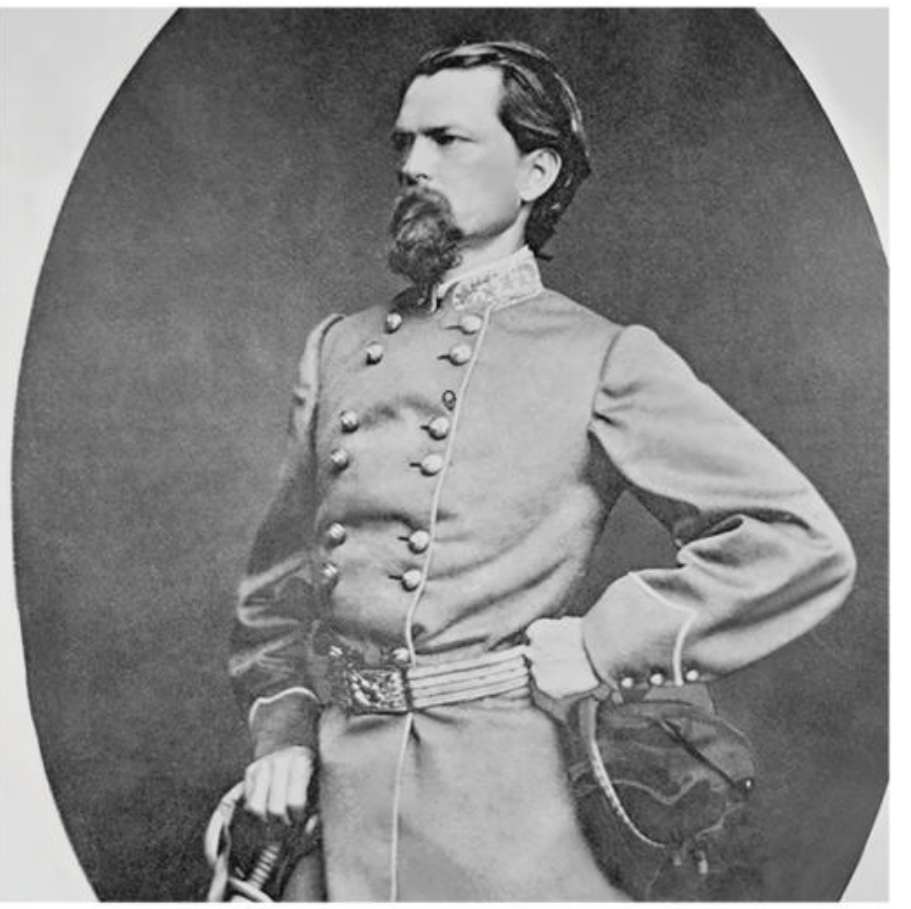
IN 1913, ON THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY of the Battle of Gettysburg, an elderly Confederate soldier shook hands with an aging Union veteran (opposite). A lithograph published at war's end (top) portrayed a soldier returning to his family. The war left widespread destruction and poverty in its wake in the South (above), and full recovery would require generations of effort. More than 750,000 troops never returned home. The soldiers' section of Richmond's Oakwood Cemetery contained more than 17,000 graves (left).

It was, perhaps, an unlikely recovery from a war that claimed more than 750,000 lives and a Reconstruction era marred by inequities. Unlike civil wars that had ravaged other countries and had often led to renewed fighting, the American Civil War was followed by an extraordinary national reconciliation—led in no small way by the former soldiers in blue and gray.

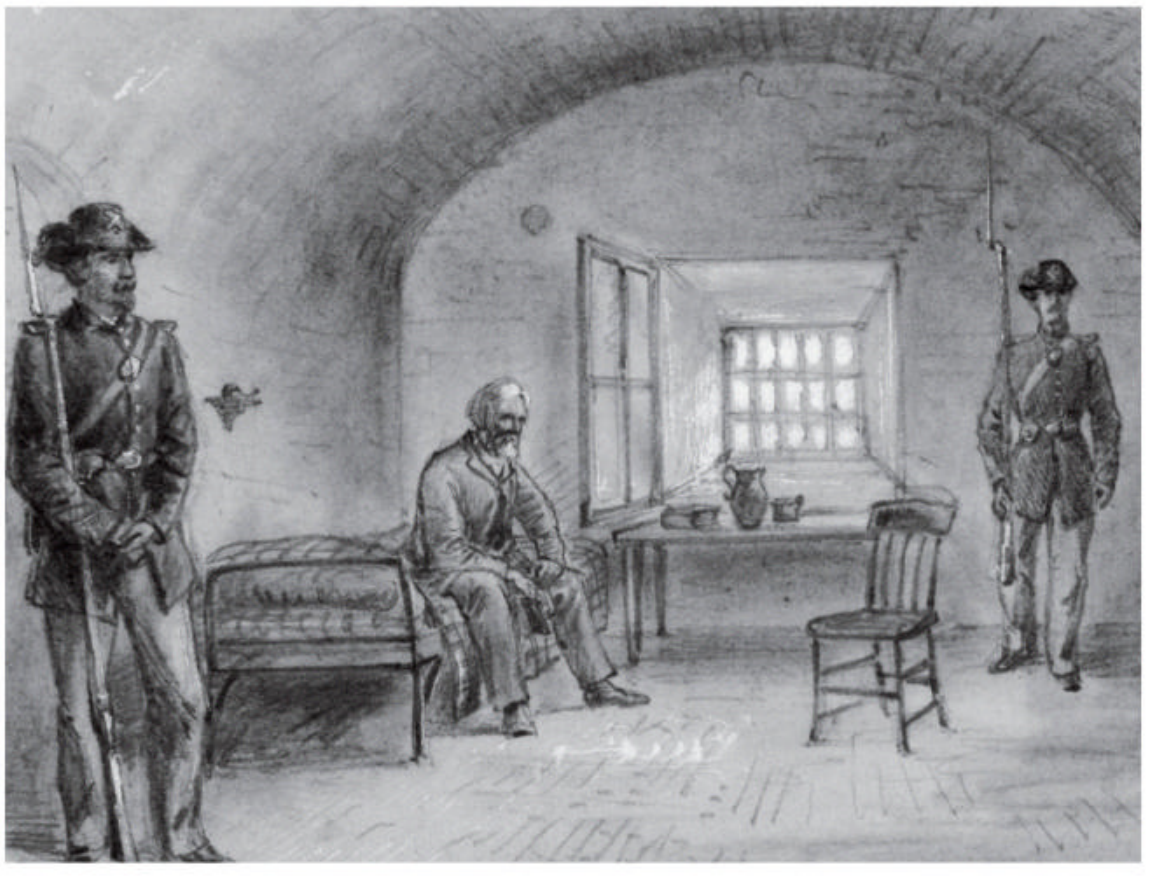
General Ulysses S. Grant set the tone when he granted generous surrender terms at Appomattox. So did General Robert E. Lee when he kept his defeated troops from resorting to guerrilla warfare at war's end.

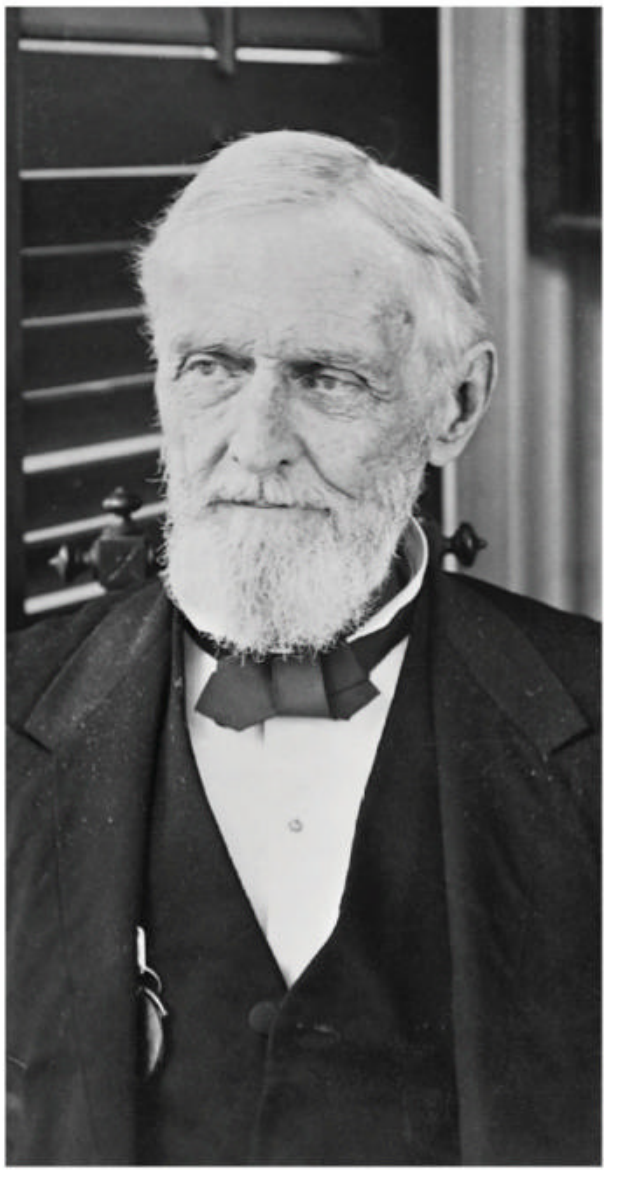
Northern General Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain, assigned to oversee Lee's troops as they stacked their arms at Appomattox, insisted that his men maintain a respectful silence during the ceremony. When the Southern soldiers came alongside, he ordered Northerners to assume the position of "carry arms," a military salute of respect. Surprised, Lee's troops responded by returning the gesture, thus ending the Civil War with the former foes saluting each other as Americans all.

To be sure, there was lingering bitterness and divisions across the country. There would be injustices for generations to come. But many veterans found a bond in their service. Some even began holding joint reunions on the old battlefields, greeting each other as "my friend the enemy." They shook hands, swapped stories, and helped the nation begin to heal. ■



AT APPOMATTOX, General Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain (top) oversaw the surrender of Lee's army. Brigadier General John B. Gordon (right), who led Lee's troops to Appomattox. William T. Sherman (below, front row center) posed with Union soldiers after the war. In May 1865, more than 150,000 victorious Northern troops paraded through Washington, D.C. (opposite).





UNDER THE GAZE of their white Northern teachers, former slaves assembled outside their first schoolhouse on South Carolina's St. Helena Island (top). Confederate President Jefferson Davis (right) was captured by Northern troops after the fall of Richmond. He was shackled and imprisoned without trial at Fort Monroe, Virginia, for two years, as depicted in the drawing above. Eventually, Federal authorities decided not to prosecute former Confederate leaders and freed Davis and others. He wrote *A Short History of the Confederate States of America* shortly before his death in December 1889.

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Healing the Divide

Seventy-five years after the Battle of Gettysburg, soldiers from the North and South came together to promote national unity

TWO CIVIL WAR VETERANS—one Southern, one Northern—clasped hands as friends at the once-bloodied wall on Cemetery Ridge.

In the summer of 1938, close to 2,000 Civil War veterans gathered at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, to commemorate the battle many of them had fought 75 years earlier as foes. There were days of ceremonies—such as the handshake between former opponents at a wall on Cemetery Ridge, shown here—parades and a military flyover. But the highlight of the week was a speech by President Franklin Roosevelt on July 3, around the same time Major General George Pickett and two other Confederate commanders had led their ill-fated assault against Union positions on July 3, 1863—considered by many Southerners to be the high-water mark of Confederate hopes for independence. The anniversary reunion brought together vets and spectators, regardless of which side they had supported, and fostered a sense of unity for the country, which at the time was staring down a second world war.